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MOMENTS OF REALIZATION:

THE EXPERIENCES, DEVELOPMENT, MOTIVATIONS, AND ACTIONS

OF STUDENT SOCIAL JUSTICE ALLIES

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MOMENTS OF REALIZATION:

THE EXPERIENCES, DEVELOPMENT, MOTIVATIONS, AND ACTIONS OF STUDENT SOCIAL JUSTICE ALLIES

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Dedication

This dissertation reflects all that I have been blessed to learn in my life and classroom experiences. Much of what I have been able to accomplish is due to the unconditional love and support of my mother, Maureen Sanders. My mother has always been my greatest advocate, wise voice of reason, selfless caregiver, advisor, and role model. Without her I would have never pursued or accomplished my goals. The responsibility I felt to provide guidance and stability for my younger sister, Sharon Sanders, made me a better and stronger person. Sharon has taught me so much about the importance of love and family and will always be my inspiration to do more than I ever thought possible. To my brother, Sean Sanders, whose choices earlier in his life taught me what not to do and whose ability to overcome and become a successful husband, father, and chef demonstrates the power of perseverance and love. To Sean's wife, Nadia, who shows everyone how to live a life of compassion and faith in God. To my father, Mark Sanders, who taught me so much by tirelessly working through health challenges and struggles. To my nephews, Liam and Mythias, who were only born a few months ago and have been a true blessing to our family.

As I reflect on my family of origin, I am overwhelmed with joy to be beginning a new family with my caring, dedicated, and loving husband, Kevin Owney. Since the day we met in June 2007 he has brought countless blessings to my life and I know our life together will be filled with happiness and success. I have been taking classes and writing since the day we met and his patience and ability to know when he needed to make me take a break, laugh or cry made getting to this point possible. He is my rock and I can't wait to see what the next part of our life together will bring.

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MOMENTS OF REALIZATION:

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The University of Texas at Austin, 2010

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Social justice allies make important contributions to fighting oppression in campus environments and in their communities after college. However, knowledge of how one becomes a social justice ally is limited. This qualitative, phenomenological study was designed in an effort to better understand the social justice ally development process and advances the pioneering work of Broido (1997, 2000). Examination of student's understanding of her/his formative and college experiences helped determine how each alone and in combination with other factors or experiences, contributed to her/his ally development process. The role of student affairs professionals and programs in this process was also examined. This study was conducted at The University of Texas at Austin, which was selected because of the historical context, institutional environment and diversity-related initiatives implemented over the past 10 years. Review of the literature on ally development reveals that a majority of the existing research focuses on allies who take action against heterosexism or sexism. Through this research project I addressed this gap by including student allies who focus on other areas of privilege/oppression including classism and citizenship status. This study also expands the analysis of social justice allies by including examination of the influence of gender on the development, motivations and actions of allies.

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Chapter 1: Introduction to Study

Introduction

The life of Virginia Foster Durr "testifies to the ability of an individual to be transformed by observation, experience, and basic sense of right and wrong from an unquestioning racist to a courageous activist, organizer, and leader for social justice" (National Women's History Project, 2007, n.p.). Mrs. Durr was raised in Birmingham, Alabama and attended Ku Klux Klan (KKK) parades with her family while growing up. She attended Wellesley College where she reluctantly had her first experiences interacting with Blacks. Mrs. Durr later became active in the Civil Rights movement, despite being "shunned by a large segment of the white community" and being investigated as a communist (National Women's History Project, 2007, n.p.). A full biography of Virginia Foster Durr is provided in Appendix A of this paper. Her oral history is also told in the book *Outside the Magic Circle* (1990).

Although Virginia Foster Durr was not called a social justice ally during her life, she is an example of an ally and her story demonstrates how experiences (including those during the college years) can profoundly change the course of someone's life. The definition of social justice allies I use is "Social justice allies are members of dominant social groups (e.g., men, Whites, heterosexuals) who are working to end the system of oppression that gives them greater privilege and power based on their social-group membership" (Broido, 2000, p. 3). Virginia Durr is just one example of someone who became a social justice ally. The purpose of this study is to understand students who commit to social justice like Mrs. Durr did.

The presence of social justice allies is not new, but use of this term to describe their work is a relatively recent development. Over the past two decades, institutions of higher education have become increasingly more diverse. The benefits students experience because of this increased diversity has been well documented by several researchers (see, for example Chang, 1999, Gurin et al., 2004a, and Hurtado, 2001). However, some groups of students continue to be underrepresented and marginalized within higher education. Due to the continued need for action and efforts to make college campuses more inclusive of all groups and individuals, researchers have brought attention to the need for understanding and working towards social justice in college environments (Adams et al., 1997, 2007, Goodman, 2000, Hurtado et al., 1999, Johnson, 2001 and Tatum, 1994, 1997).

Prior to the focus on social justice work, researchers studied the experiences of specific marginalized groups, such as the gay, lesbian and bisexual community. This research attempted to illuminate these groups' struggles and to identify people who were advocates for these groups and labeled these individuals as allies (see, for example, Washington & Evans, 1991). An example of ally behavior may include using one's position, influence and relationships to combat stereotypes and dispel myths about the gay, lesbian and bisexual community.

Throughout the late 1990s, research and scholarship on social justice and allies continued, as connected, but separate topics. In 1997, Broido conducted a phenomenological study of social justice allies. Her research linked these terms and laid the foundation for what has become a body of literature on social justice allies (Broido & Reason, 2005, Davis & Wagner, 2005, Edwards, 2006, Evans et al., 2005, Evans &

Broido, 2005, and Reason & Davis, 2005). While this literature promoted understanding of some aspects of social justice allies, it is important to discover more about the pre-college and college development and experiences of social justice allies.

Given the civic mission of higher education, universities should be in search of more innovative ways to help students develop into productive members of society. Learning more about the experiences of student social justice allies can help encourage the development of more student advocates and allies. Emerging social justice allies will help speak out against oppression, injustice and marginalization within society, making college campuses and beyond more inclusive of all people. Allies may also illuminate challenges and meaningful experiences encountered while in college.

The site for this project, The University of Texas at Austin, has implemented several initiatives over the past 10 years to increase the number of students and faculty from under-represented groups on campus and teach students about social justice. These initiatives focus on various forms of diversity and social justice, beyond race/ethnicity. For example, in March 2004 UT Austin established the Gender and Sexuality Center which "provides safe spaces for all members of the UT Austin community to explore, organize, and promote learning around issues of gender and sexuality" (The University of Texas at Austin, July 2010). This Center was established in large part due to the efforts, advocacy and organizing of members of the UT-Austin Student Government (The University of Texas at Austin, November 2008), students who would likely be described as social justice allies. Another major commitment was the establishment of the Division of Diversity of Community Engagement. This Division is a Presidential Initiative with the mission stated as

> The Division of Diversity and Community Engagement advances socially just learning and working environments that foster a culture of excellence through diverse people, ideas, and perspectives. We engage in dynamic community-university partnerships designed to transform our lives. (The University of Texas at Austin, February 2008)

The institutional commitment to diversity and social justice at The University of Texas at Austin added depth to this project. As student participants talked about their experiences becoming an ally, it was clear that the institutional context had an influence on their development process.

While focusing on social justice allies, it is important to remember that becoming an ally is a complex process that many students and others choose not to pursue.

> Allies must find a precarious balance between knowing when to take a seat at the table of social justice advocacy, joining those who are oppressed at combating oppression; when to speak up; when to be silent in order to listen to the experiences of others; and when to leave the table altogether, so as not to infringe on or usurp the role of target group members in advocating for their own liberation. (Reason & Broido, 2005, p. 88)

This chapter will provide an overview of the factors related to social justice ally development. Next, the statement of the problem, purpose, and research questions will be explained. This is followed by a brief description of the methodology that was used in this study. Definition of terms frequently used in this paper, including diversity, ally, social justice ally, privilege, and oppression will be provided, in addition to the delimitations and limitations for the study. Further, the assumptions that guided this study will be discussed. The significance of this study is explained, followed by a description of my personal interest in this topic and a chapter conclusion.

Factors Related to Social Justice Ally Development

According to previous research, several factors are related to the development of social justice allies. First, colleges and universities have a civic mission (Colby, 2003;

Guarasci et al., 1997; and Hurtado et al., 2002). This social responsibility is fulfilled in part by maximizing opportunity for students to interact and learn from diverse peers. It also means universities should be taking intentional steps to increase the representation of underrepresented groups in the campus community. Creating campus environments that encourage the development of social justice allies will help to increase the fulfillment of college and universities' civic missions. Second, interactions with diverse people are associated with several benefits (Chang, 1999, Gurin et al., 2004a, and Hurtado, 2001). The diversity of student bodies and environments on college campuses allow for these benefits to be experienced by many students. These experiences and outcomes associated with diversity are an important starting point in the development of social justice allies. Third, in order to benefit from diversity, students must be open to new experiences, viewpoints and people. Research has examined factors that influence students' level of openness to diversity (Antonio, 2001; Astin et al., 1998; Chang, 2002; Eyler et al., 1997; Kuh, 1993; and Nelson Laird et al., 2005).

Fourth, one of the major processes that takes place while in college is the development of one's social identity. The way a student identifies her/his self will affect whether or not s/he is likely to become a social justice ally. Fifth, since by definition many social justice allies will be white[1], it is important to specifically consider white privilege awareness and white identity development (Hardiman, 1992; Helms, 1984, 1993; McIntosh, 1992; and Tatum, 1994). A white student's stage in the white identity

[1] Here I have made the intentional decision to not capitalize white. The *Public Manual of American Psychological Association* (5th Edition) stipulates that racial/ethnic groups, such as black or white should be capitalized, while general terms such as people or students of color should be lower-case. Because I will be using the term "students of color" which is a subordinated or targeted group in relation to white students, I made a decision to not bring further attention or dominance to whites by capitalizing this term. The only time white will be capitalized will be in direct quotes referring to other literature.

development model and level of awareness of her/his white privilege will influence whether or not s/he is likely to become a social justice ally. While a white student's racial identity development is related to her/his ally development, it is important to recognize that social justice allies can be involved in working against forms of oppression that are not racially related such as heterosexism or ableism[2]. Sixth, a student's level/awareness of racial bias will also influence the likelihood of her/him becoming a social justice ally. One's level/awareness of racial bias is influenced by several factors including participation in a diversity course or workshop (E. L. Brown, 2004; Nelson Laird et al., 2005; and Springer et al., 1996), participation in service-learning (Astin, 1998; Dooley, 2007; Eyler et al., 1997; and Krain et al., 2005) and activities/connections outside of the classroom (For example, Antonio, 2001 and Sidanius et al., 2008 on friendship networks; and Kuh, 2003 and Pike, 2002 regarding on- versus off-campus residence). Seventh, research on social justice allies identifies some additional factors related to their development including gaining new information about marginalized groups (through course work or personal relationships), making meaning of this information and being recruited/expected to get involved in ally work (Broido, 1997, 2000). Literature on ally development also provides factors to be considered including level of awareness of the systemic nature of oppression and awareness of one's own privilege. Other factors include the barriers to and motivators in the ally development process identified by researchers (Chizhik & Chizhik, 2005, Davis & Wagner, 2005,

[2] Heterosexism is "a belief in the superiority of heterosexuals or heterosexuality evidenced in the exclusion, by omission or design, of non-heterosexual persons in policies, procedures and events, or activities" (Sears et al., 1997, p. 16). Ableism is defined as "a network of beliefs, processes and practices that produces a particular kind of self and body (the corporeal standard) that is projected as the perfect, species-typical and therefore essential and fully human. Disability then, is cast as a diminished state of being human (Campbell, 2001, p. 44)

Fabiano et al., 2003, Goodman, 2000, and Tatum 1994, 1997). Finally, the influence of gender was considered through review of literature on the development of women, in addition to historical accounts of women activism and women's roles in social movements.

Statement of the Problem

Social justice allies make important contributions to fighting oppression in campus environments and in their communities after college. Social justice allies are needed to change the systems that provide some with unearned privilege while oppressing others. Although very few college students become social justice allies (Broido, 1997; Bishop, 2000), their contributions are important for improving college campuses and making them more inclusive. Thus, it is imperative to discover how students develop traits to become social justice allies. Previous research offers some information on the ally development process, but there are gaps in the literature, especially related to the role of student affairs professionals in this process. Because of their position within universities, student affairs professionals are in a unique position to form relationships with students and create learning opportunities outside of the classroom. Student affairs professionals may also be in the position to encourage the development of social justice allies. The majority of research on social justice allies is focused on allies who take action against heterosexism or sexism. This results in a lack of knowledge on allies who take action against other forms of oppression. Without additional research on social justice ally development and allies against all forms of oppression, specific opportunities or actions that could encourage the development of social justice allies remain unknown. Further, to date there is little to no analysis of the

influence of gender in the ally development process and how gender may influence ally motivations and/or actions. Because male and female allies may differ in significant ways, it is important to know more about the influence of gender in order to have a full understanding of how to develop and support both male and female allies.

Purpose

The purpose of this study is to identify what formative and college experiences contribute to students to developing traits that are likely to lead to them becoming social justice allies.

Research Questions

1. What are the formative experiences of students identified by their peers as social justice allies at The University of Texas at Austin?
2. How do University of Texas at Austin students identified by their peers as social justice allies make meaning of their backgrounds in relation to their ally work?
3. What are the college experiences at The University of Texas at Austin of students recognized as social justice allies that they identify as important in their development? What experiences do these students identify as being detrimental to their development?
4. What role, *if any*, do student affairs professionals play in the development of students identified as social justice allies at The University of Texas at Austin?

Methodology

This study was conducted using a qualitative, phenomenological approach. This method allowed for the deep analysis necessary to fully understand the development and experiences of students who developed traits to become social justice allies while in college. Qualitative methods allow for a thick description not possible in other methods. Since the body of research on social justice allies is still developing, at this stage more qualitative studies are needed. Factors identified through this and other qualitative work can then be used to formulate measures for larger, empirical studies to be conducted in the future.

In an effort to better understand the social justice ally development process, I examined student's understanding of her/his formative and college experiences to determine how each alone, or in combination with other factors or experiences, contributed to a student's understanding of her/his ally development process. Based on a review of the literature, the following topics were identified as possible factors that may have been discussed by the participants, and/or may have been helpful in analyzing and understanding their responses: university mission (to analyze if it includes/focuses on diversity, inclusiveness or related concepts); the diversity of the student body (proportion of white students versus students of color); openness to diversity (precollege and in college levels); student development stage based on the Chickering and Reisser (1993) and Baxter Magolda (1992) models; racial identity stage based on the Hardiman and Jackson (1992) model; white identity development based on Helms' (1984, 1993) model; understanding/awareness of privilege (complex versus simple based on Chizhik & Chizhik, 2005); participation in a diversity course/workshop; participation in service-

learning; on- versus off-campus residence; diversity of friendship network (analysis guided by the work of Antonio, 2001); level and frequency of contact with student affairs professionals; knowledge of/presence of positive white ally role models in the students' life; and the student's gender.

This study was conducted at The University of Texas at Austin, a predominately white, public institution of higher education. The University has on campus residence halls, active student affairs professionals on campus, offers diversity courses/workshops and includes diversity and inclusivity in the university's mission. These basic criteria were necessary because each of these factors was analyzed in this study, as a factor of potential importance in the development of student social justice allies. Additional factors that contributed to The University of Texas at Austin as the site selected for this research will be further discussed in Chapter 3.

Definition of Terms

It is important to define several terms applied in this study.

The term *diversity* is frequently used in this paper. I introduce a very basic definition, as I believe that diversity is so commonly used it is important to understand the term in the most simplistic terms. "Talbot (1996) [as quoted in Reason & Davis, 2005] defined diversity as a 'structure that includes the tangible presence of individuals representing a variety of different attributes and characteristics'"(Reason & Davis, 2005, p. 8). I am most interested in exploring diversity from a social justice perspective. Through this lens, the multiple forms of difference that create diversity is celebrated and embraced while recognizing that some forms of difference (such as gender, race/ethnicity, sexual orientation, ability level, or religion) are used to place one group of

people, a dominant group, in power over another group of people, a subordinate group. As further described below, an ally as a member of a dominant group can then use their position of power and privilege to take action in an effort to interrupt the cycle which allows difference to be used as a means of oppressing subordinate group members.

The term *ally* can mean different things, depending on the setting. Two definitions from foundational authors on the topic are provided to clarify how the term is used in this study. First, Washington and Evans (1991) defined an ally as "a person who is a member of the 'dominant' or 'majority' group who works to end oppression in his or her personal and professional life through support of, and as an advocate with and for, the oppressed population" (p. 195). Second, Bishop (2002) offered the following:

> Allies are distinguished by several characteristics: their sense of connection with other people, all other people; their grasp of social structures and collective responsibility; their lack of an individualistic stance and ego, although they have a strong sense of self; their sense of process and change; their understanding of their own process of learning; their realistic sense of their own power; their grasp of 'power-with' as an alternative to 'power-over'; their honest, openness, and lack of shame about their own limitations; their knowledge and sense of history; their acceptance of struggle; their understanding that good intentions do not matter if there is not action against oppression; their knowledge of their own roots. (p. 111)

Social justice allies have some of the same characteristics as allies, but have some specific characteristics that are important to understand. "Social justice allies are members of dominant social groups (e.g., men, Whites, heterosexuals) who are working to end the system of oppression that gives them greater privilege and power based on their social-group membership" (Broido, 2000, p. 3).

Understanding these ally definitions requires an understanding of the terms *privilege* and *oppression*. Being an ally or social justice ally also requires an understanding of these concepts. Johnson (2001) provided the following insight on

privilege drawing from the work of Peggy McIntosh (1988). "Privilege exists when one group has something of value that is denied to others simply because of the groups they belong to, rather than because of anything they've done or failed to do" (Johnson, 2001, p. 23). The definition of *oppression* provided by Adams, Bell and Griffin, (2007) explains the interconnected forces that create and perpetuate oppression.

> According to our model, social oppression exists when one social group, whether knowingly or unconsciously, exploits another social group for its own benefit. Social oppression is distinct from a situation of simple brute force in that it is an interlocking system that involves ideological control as well as domination and control of the social institutions and resources of the society, resulting in a condition of privilege for the agent group relative to the disenfranchisement and exploitation of the target group. (p.17)

The term oppression will be used in this study, but should be understood to mean social oppression as defined by Adams et al. (2007).

Guided by Tatum (1997), in this study I will use the term *white* to refer to Americans of European decent. I will use the term *people of color* to "refer to those groups in America that are and have been historically targeted by racism. This includes people of African descent, people of Asian descent, people of Latin American descent, and indigenous peoples (sometimes referred to as Native Americans or Americans Indians)" (p. 15). While people of color categorizes a very diverse group of people together, the focus of this study is social justice allies, which by definition (above) focuses the topic on men, whites, heterosexuals, and members of other dominant groups. I acknowledge the importance of group and individual preferences in being (or not being) labeled, while realizing that studying this topic requires some categorization to define dominant and targeted groups.

Delimitations

Given the focus of this study, it only included students who were identified as social justice allies by their peers. Students who have taken action against one or more forms of oppression within the university setting were considered allies and were contacted to request their participation in the study. Self-identifying allies were not included, unless others also identified them as an ally. By definition this study will only include students who have taken action on behalf of and/or in collaboration with targeted group members within a four-year university setting. In order to be identified as an ally by peers, these actions needed to be visible to others and linked to the individual identified as an ally by her/his peers. This study did not evaluate the effectiveness of the social justice allies' action on campus. This study did not include students who are members of subordinate or target groups who take action against oppression that personally affect them.

Limitations

A qualitative, phenomenological approach allows for a thick description relying on the participants' own understanding of her/his life. However, since this study had a relatively small sample size and was based at one institution, the findings of this study have limited generalizability or transferability to other settings. This study examined individuals' reported behaviors, actions and experiences. Therefore, the experiences that contributed to a student developing traits likely to lead to her/him becoming a social justice ally may not lead to the same outcome for a different student with similar experiences. Further, relying on peer nominations and descriptions of ally behavior assumes that this information is correct and accurate. Every effort was made to select

students for participation who were identified as an ally by more than one peer. Since the call for nominations did not yield an ideal amount of nominations, the inclusion of some participants was based on one person's perspective.

Assumptions

In this study, I assumed that social justice allies contribute to and benefit the college environments of which they are members. The descriptions of ally work by college students included in the literature (Bishop, 2002; Broido, 1997, 2000; Chickering, 1998; Claffey, 2008; Kivel, 2002; Navia, 2008; Stake et al., 2001; and Washington et al., 1991) support this idea. Further, based on my view of the world, I believe that life experiences before and during college can lead to development that influences choices and actions that may not have occurred with different experiences. Harro's (2000b) Cycle of Liberation theory and student development theories (including Chickering and Reiser, 1993 and Baxter Magolda, 1992) support this assumption. I also assumed that some students will develop the traits needed to become allies if they have experiences that lead to their development and they have the opportunity to take action as an ally. The research conducted by Broido (1997) and others supports this belief.

Significance of Study

This study examined how students identified as social justice allies understood and interpreted their formative and college experiences and how these experiences contributed to them developing the traits needed to become an ally. The study also examined the role of student affairs professionals and programs in this process. By exploring a better understanding of this process, student affairs professionals may be able to develop ways and opportunities to promote the development of social justice allies.

Recent literature stresses the importance of student affairs professionals taking action to encourage social justice allies (see, for example, Broido & Reason, 2005, Davis & Wagner, 2005, Evans et al., 2005, Evans & Broido, 2005, Goodman, 2000, Reason & Davis, 2005, and Tatum, 1994), but there is limited existing research to inform best practices for these actions or efforts. This research will inform the higher education field about creating conditions more conducive to the development of social justice allies. Having more allies on college campuses may improve campus environments and make them more inclusive for under-represented groups. This may also help universities fulfill their civic missions by potentially allowing them to better serve a more diverse student body and prepare all students for careers and lives an increasingly globalized society. Findings of this study may also generate information about the training needs of developing social justice allies. Such training will potentially help aspiring social justice allies be more effective in fighting against oppression in society and on campus. Training social justice allies who will in turn teach and influence others is one way colleges can fulfill their civic responsibility.

Why Social Justice Allies?

In order for you, the reader, to fully understand the context of this study, I feel it is important for me to explain my phenomenological perspective and why I selected this topic for my dissertation. I grew up in a predominately white upper-middle class suburb of Chicago. I attended a small Catholic grade school and public high school. Throughout my early years, I felt pretty "normal" and fit in for the most part. As I matriculated through high school my older brother began to struggle with drug addiction, started committing crimes and eventually spent time in rehab, jail and prison. Being in a small

town, many of the people I knew found out what was happening with my brother and began to treat me poorly—people such as my "friends," teammates, their families and sometimes even teachers. It was not until much later in my life that I realized what a profound affect these experiences would have on my life.

When I went to college I selected a diverse, urban university located in Chicago and majored in Social Work. With each year of college and the related experiences I became more aware of social justice and privilege. The diversity of people I associated with as co-workers, friends, and classmates also increased, exposing me to new ideas and perspectives. As I reflected on my life course compared to those of my peers growing up with seemingly similar backgrounds, I began to wonder why I had become so interested in confronting these sometimes difficult issues, while others seemed content being surrounded by people who are similar to themselves.

My personal conclusion is that being treated as the "other" and stereotyped because of something I had no control over (my brother's drug addiction), made me particularly attentive and sensitive to discrimination and prejudice. My formative experiences alone probably would not have influenced my life path, but attending college in a diverse environment allowed me to have experiences that contributed to my understanding of and interest in social justice. As a white woman, I am cautious of labeling myself an ally because I believe only members of targeted groups can decide whether of not I have truly been an ally. However, I will admit I am an aspiring ally who attempts to take action against oppression in respectful, appropriate, intentional and hopefully influential ways. Therefore, my formative experiences in addition to the opportunities and experiences I had in college helped me become an aspiring ally. With

this study I examined if students identified as allies had similar formative and college experiences that influenced their ally action. This was done in the hopes of finding out how I and other student affairs professionals may be able to create conditions that provide opportunities for students interested in social justice to continue to learn and potentially aspire to become allies.

Conclusion

Social justice allies make important contributions to fighting oppression in campus environments and in their communities after college. However, knowledge of how one becomes a social justice ally is limited. Review of relevant literature reveals that the development of social justice allies may be related to several factors including formative experiences, experiences with diversity, racial identity development, and certain co-curricular activities. Although student affairs professionals are often mentioned in the literature as being important in the development of social justice allies, little is known about what role, if any, student affairs professionals may have in this process. Further, a majority of the existing research on ally development focuses on allies who work against heterosexism or sexism. This study addressed these gaps by examining the role of student affairs professionals and including allies focused on various areas of privilege/oppression. Including consideration of the influence of gender on ally development, motivations, and actions also addresses a gap in the literature. Conducting this research at The University of Texas at Austin allowed for analysis of the role of institutional initiatives in the ally development process. The qualitative, phenomenological approach provided a thick, contextual description that allowed for the students identified as allies by their peers to tell their stories. The definition of terms

provided, including diversity, social justice ally, privilege and oppression, are vital to the understanding of this study.

The following chapter will further describe the factors related to the development of social justice allies. Through a critical analysis of literature on several related topics, the context for this study will be described. The chapter will provide an explanation of how this study builds on previous research, in addition to addressing some of the gaps identified in the literature.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Introduction

This study examines the development and experiences of social justice allies. While there is a limited amount of research available on this specific topic, it is also related to several other areas, such as the civic mission of higher education, the benefits of diversity, openness to diversity, student development and identity development, and participation in co-curricular activities that may lead to development. Discussion of these related concepts situates this topic in a larger context and body of knowledge. The areas discussed also guided the factors that were analyzed in this study.

In this chapter, research related to the civic mission of higher education and how this relates to diversity will be reviewed. Next, the student outcomes associated with diversity, as well as factors influencing a student's openness to diversity, will be discussed. Additionally, student identity development and related theories including the Cycle of Socialization (Harro, 2000a) will be examined. More specific theories related to racial identity development and white identity development in particular will also be reviewed. Further, research on educational experiences, including participation in a diversity course/workshop, participation in service-learning and co-curricular activities and interactions, will be reviewed with an emphasis on how these activities are related to a student's level of diversity awareness. After these foundational topics are explored, the focus of this research—social justice allies—will be examined in depth. All available research on the topic will be discussed including, ally development models, development of allies with privilege, factors related to social justice interest and readiness, and the role of student affairs professionals in developing allies. Literature on the influence of gender

in the development process will also be reviewed in order to consider how this may affect ally development, motivations, and/or actions. Finally, the literature will be examined as a whole to discuss the complexities of the ally development process, in addition to gaps in the existing research.

Civic Mission of Higher Education

Institutions of higher education have often espoused a civic responsibility to prepare students for productive lives in a democratic society. Workplaces and communities are becoming increasingly globalized, which requires students to have the skills necessary to live and work with people different than themselves. I reviewed research that provides information about how universities are able to fulfill their civic mission, literature about the development of civic responsibility in youth pre-college, in addition to literature that addresses how diversity is related to the civic mission of universities.

In order to provide an understanding of the formative experiences of students before college, I reviewed two studies focused on youth and civility. Crystal and DeBell (2002) discussed factors that influenced civic orientation development in youth. While focused on 6^{th}-10^{th} graders, the study provides documentation of how early civic responsibility can begin to develop. The study found that factors such as interpersonal trust and religious valuation had a more significant role in predicting a student's level of civic orientation than her/his grade level. This may indicate the significance of background and formative experiences in a youth's views and behaviors.

Also focused on youth, Torney-Purta (2002) studied how schools in twenty-eight countries helped increase students' levels of student engagement. She found that:

> Schools achieve the best results in fostering civic engagement when they rigorously teach civic content and skills, ensure an open classroom climate for discussing issues, emphasize the importance of the electoral process, and encourage a participative school culture. (p. 203)

Youth that attend schools that apply these best practices are likely to come to college more civically engaged.

In addition to schools, some universities have had success in preparing students for effective civic participation. These institutions are models for practice for other institutions. Colby, Ehrlich, Beaumont, and Stephens (2003) studied the work of twelve universities "that take holistic and intentional approaches to undergraduate moral and civic education" (p. xiv). The universities represented a variety of institutional contexts and missions. The institutions studied were Alverno College (WI), California State University-Monterey Bay, College of St. Catherine (MN), Duke University (NC), University of Hawaii Kapi' olani Community College, Messiah College (PA), Portland State University (OR) , Spelman College (GA), Turtle Mountain Community College (ND), Tusculum College (TN), United States Air Force Academy (CO) and University of Notre Dame (IN).

Colby et al. (2003) developed a framework to explore how a person becomes civically responsible, which requires moral and civic understanding, motivation towards moral and civic behavior and skills to become civically responsible. In this framework, the process requires the application of knowledge, making informed judgments and taking action. They also examined various aspects of curricula aimed a developing the dimensions in the framework, and provided suggestions about how civic education can be integrated into different curricula in various institutional settings. The authors further provided guidance about how civic responsibility can be taught in extra-curricular

activities and provided tools for institutions to develop assessments to evaluate their civic education development activities.

In addition to documenting best practices, research also supports the critical role of diversity in teaching civic responsibility to students. The importance of diversity in civic education was explained by Guarasci, Cornwell and Associates (1997):

> Education for today's democracy in a more multicultural America must reacquaint students with the ideal of an inclusive, intercultural democracy. Toward this end students must learn how to demystify differences. We believe that experiential education is a powerful method for recognizing and honoring differences. And we believe that the arts of democracy-dialogue, engagement and responsible participation-help students grow from intercultural experience and create democratic sensibilities. (p. xiii)

Guarasci et al. continued to explain how community building within institutions of higher education could contribute to democratic education. They stressed the importance of embracing difference and discussed specific programs that encourage community building and student growth including service learning, community learning for women's studies, a first-year program, a themed course package, and intergroup dialogue. The book concluded with a discussion of how these specific programs contribute to institutions of higher education fulfilling their civic missions in a diverse democracy.

One of the earlier studies on the influence of college on the development of civic involvement values was conducted by Pascarella, Ethington, and Smart (1988) and examined precollege, institutional, college experience, and educational attainment factors. The authors concluded that:

> Social involvement during college has a significant, positive influence on the development of humanitarian and civic involvement values…the types of social involvement most salient in influencing value development differed by race and gender…also suggests…that not all students will benefit equally from the same experience. (p. 435)

This underscores the importance of universities offering various opportunities for student involvement since each student will be influenced differently.

Similar to Pascarella et al., Hurtado, Engberg, Ponjuan, and Landreman (2002) documented differences based on different demographic factors. Specifically, Hurtado et al. (2002) found differences in students' preparation for democratic participation based on gender and precollege activities. The authors concluded "that students might be unprepared to negotiate conflict in a diverse democracy, suggesting that college engagement will play a key role in fostering the development of democratic citizenship" (p. 163). Since many people do not attend college, preparing students for participation in a diverse democracy becomes even more important because other members of society many not have the opportunity to learn about this process. College attendees, therefore, become important as potential role models and examples of democratic citizens.

In addition to participation in college, participation in volunteer work, before or during college, may also affect a student's interest in and involvement in ones' community. Sax (2004) studied college students' rates of participation in volunteer work and interest in the political process before, during and after college. She found an increase in participation in volunteer work, but an overall decrease in interest in politics. Although there was an overall decrease in this area, the data showed that participation in college increases one's commitment to social activism, sense of empowerment and involvement in one's community. The increase in sense of empowerment and increased community involvement were both attributed to having interactions with other students from different racial or ethnic groups during college and participation in a diversity awareness workshop. Sax concluded by stating, "Therefore, the message to institutions is

to provide a variety of opportunities for student involvement, particularly in ways that expose students to diverse people and issues" (p. 78). As previously noted, the work of Pascarella et al. (1988) also supported the importance of colleges and universities offering a variety of opportunities for involvement because student benefit differently from experiences.

Sax's conclusion was also supported by the work of Gurin, Nagda, and Lopez, (2004b). Their study examined the benefits of diversity in education for democratic citizenship and they concluded

> The discrepancy that racial and ethnic diversity on college campuses offers students opportunities for personal development and preparation for citizenship in an increasingly multicultural society depends on actual experience that students have with diverse peers…higher education institutions have to make use of racial/ethnic diversity by creating educational programs that bring diverse students together in meaningful, civil discourse to learn from each other. (p. 32)

As presented in the research discussed, having experiences with diverse peers inside and outside of the classroom helps universities prepare students for a pluralistic society, and therefore work towards fulfilling their civic mission. In order for students and universities to benefit from diversity, there needs to be sufficient representation of various groups within the student body. Interaction with diverse peers is also an important factor in the development of many social justice allies. Specifics about how students benefit from diversity and universities can create opportunity to maximize these benefits are discussed in the following section.

Benefits of Diversity on College Campuses

Although there are multiple factors that contribute to diversity, such as gender, socioeconomic status, sexual orientation, and ability status, the following section focuses on racial/ethnic diversity. Experience interacting with people different than themselves

based on multiple factors may be beneficial to students, but differences based on race/ethnicity have been most widely studied and documented. However, much of the research on the topic is related to court challenges to the use of affirmative action in college admission decisions. As a response to court challenges, the body of research developed to show empirically how all students benefit from increased racial/ethnic diversity in higher education.

Many researchers (Chang, 1999; Chang et al., 2005; Gudeman, 2000; Gurin et al, 2002; Gurin et al., 2004; Hu &Kuh, 2003; Hurtado, 2001; Maruyma & Moreno, 2000; Milem, 2001, 2003; Pike et al., 2007; Smith & Schonfeld, 2000) have documented the benefits of diversity for students of all races/ethnicities as a result of increased interactions with diverse peers inside and outside of the classroom. Each study examined these outcomes in different ways. Despite varied approaches, methodologies and data sets, researchers consistently supported the benefits of diversity in higher education and provided evidence to show many positive outcomes students experience as a result of exposure to and interaction with different forms of diversity. Currently, the research focuses on the outcomes associated with racial/ethnic diversity, such as enhanced critical and complex thinking ability (Milem, 2003), greater openness to diversity (Chang et al., 2005), greater levels of engagement (Pike et al., 2007), and higher levels of intellectual engagement (Gurin et al., 2004).

Student Outcomes

One of the primary ways that the benefits of diversity are measured is by examining the student outcomes that result from increased diversity and/or interaction with diverse peers. Chang (1999) examined the responses of 11,680 students attending

over 370 four-year institutions to examine the educational benefits of a racially diverse student population.

> The results show that a racially heterogeneous student population has a direct positive impact on the individual student's likelihood of both socializing with someone of a different racial group and discussing racial issues. This effect was observed even after controlling for the entering student's background characteristics, other college environmental factors, and college experiences. (p. 391)

Therefore, increased diversity in a student body increases the likelihood that students will interact with someone different than themselves (based on race/ethnicity) and will be more likely to discuss racial issues.

Another study conducted by Hu and Kuh (2003) had complementary results. The authors concluded that "experiences with interactional diversity have positive effects for virtually all students in all types of postsecondary institutions with a wide range of desirable college outcomes" (Hu & Kuh, 2003, p. 331). Their research analyzed the responses of students to the College Student Experience Questionnaire (CSEQ) in 1998-2001 that included 33, 756 responses from students at 124 American four-year colleges and universities. The CSEQ, developed by Dr. Robert Pace in 1979, is the foundation for the National Survey on Student Engagement (NSSE), which began in 1998 (Indiana University Center, 2007). This multi-institutional study demonstrated that the types of interactions with people different than themselves that Chang (1999) demonstrated benefit students in his study are increased with higher levels of diversity in the student body and have positive effects for most students.

While a diverse student body has benefits for all students, *why* these benefits are experienced is explained in part by the developmental stage most traditionally aged college students are in as they matriculate. Gurin, Dey, Hurtado, and Gurin (2002)

reviewed developmental theories to explain why diversity in higher education is critical to the cognitive development of college students. The authors used the developmental theories of Erik Erikson (1946, 1956), Theodore Newcomb (1943), and Jean Piaget (1971, 1975/1985) to explain why the environment and developmental stage many college students are in during the college years are ideal to learn from interactions with people different than oneself. The authors conducted analyses of two longitudinal databases—one from the University of Michigan (the MSS-Michigan Student Survey) and one national database (the Cooperative Institutional Research Program-CIRP, from the Higher Education Research Institute-HERI). The authors concluded that introducing content about race/ethnicity into classes is not enough to obtain the same educational benefits as having a diverse student body to enhance classroom diversity experiences and increase the possibility of informal interracial interaction (p. 359).

Contributing to the explanation of *why* college is so important for experiencing diversity, research highlighted the importance of institutional campus climate and institutional mission in students experiencing the benefits associated with diversity (see, for example, Smith and Schonfeld, 2000, and Hurtado, Milem, Clayton-Pederson, and Allen, 1999). Smith and Schonfeld (2000) conducted an extensive review of research on diversity in higher education. They found that the success of underrepresented students in higher education is affected by institutional characteristics (such as high expectation, belief in students' capacities, models of success, institutional mission, link between value of education and service to community) when limited educational preparation is a factor (p. 18). Their literature review also supported the need for a "critical mass of diverse people" (p. 18) on campus. In considering the campus climate dimension of diversity,

Smith and Schonfeld discussed "results of recent research [which] suggest the importance of striking a balance between development of a unified identity among community members, through activities such as campus traditions and rituals, and acknowledgement of differences between members" (p. 18). From the literature, it is clear that the institutional context, as well as individual student benefits, should both be considered to get a full understanding of how diversity benefits students and how universities can maximize these benefits.

Focused on individual student benefits gained from experience with diversity, Milem (2003) conducted a multi-disciplinary analysis using a four dimensional framework. He found that respondents showed greater relative gain in critical and active thinking, as well as greater intellectual engagement and academic motivation when greater levels of diversity were present. Higher levels of retention and increases in degree aspirations were also reported. Further results indicated higher levels of satisfaction with college, a greater sense of community while in college, and a greater likelihood of accruing greater material benefits if attending a selective institution that is racially diverse over a more homogeneous selective institution (p. 142). The societal benefits cited included democracy outcomes, which included greater civic engagement, cultural engagement and compatibility of difference (Milem, 2003).

Research that provides empirical, scientific evidence of the benefits associated with diversity on college campuses is particularly important when the practice of affirmative action in college admission is challenged in public discourse or in the college classroom. Directly related to these potential challenges, Pike, Kuh and Gonyea (2007) evaluated the rationale for affirmative action in college admissions—that a diverse study

body increases cross-group interactions and therefore contributes to increased understanding among diverse groups. The authors' analysis compared the diversity of a student body with student responses to specific questions on the National Survey of Student Engagement (NSSE), which measured frequency of interaction with diverse groups and level of understanding of diverse groups. The use of NSSE increased the reliability and validity of the study, since this survey's psychometric properties have been validated and the tool was used nationally by hundreds of universities and colleges since 2000, which allows for consistent measures across institutions and time periods. The diversity of student body was directly related to increased frequency of interactions between diverse groups and indirectly related to increased understanding of diverse groups. Pike et al. (2007) further responded to claims about potentially negative consequences of affirmative action in college admissions cited by critics of this practice:

> The results refute the claim that use of affirmative action in college admissions is associated with negative perceptions of peers and the campus environment. Our findings indicate that the quality of interpersonal relations on campus was unrelated to diversity experiences, suggesting that admitting students of color neither insures an affirming campus environment nor does it lead to hostility, stereotyping, and debilitating inter-group relations. (p. 13)

This statement affirms what other authors have concluded—the increase in diversity on campus alone is not enough to lead to the benefits associated with diversity. However, increased levels of diversity increased the likelihood of interactions between diverse groups, which in turn increased the students' level of understanding of diverse groups.

Another study designed to provide evidence that increased diversity benefits all students was conducted by Chang, Denson, Saenz and Misa (2005). This research evaluated the frequency of cross-race interactions and how this affects levels of openness to diversity, cognitive development, and self-confidence. The researchers also analyzed

how average levels of cross-race interactions at an institution affected the same measures for the entire study body. The analysis was based on the Cooperative Institutional Research Program (CIRP) housed at the Higher Education Research Institute (HERI). The results of the 1994 Freshman Survey were compared with the results for the 1998 Follow-up Survey for nearly 20,000 students attending 227 four-year institutions. As with NSSE, the CIRP surveys are validated and allow consistency across campuses and time periods.

Similar to the results reported by Pike et al. (2007), Chang et al. (2005) reported that increased frequency of cross-race interactions resulted in increased openness to diversity, cognitive development and self-confidence. Furthermore, not only did the increased frequency of cross-race interactions benefit the students participating in the interactions, it also benefited members of the student body in institutions where the average rate of cross-race interactions was higher. Specifically, "students who attend campuses with higher peer average CRI [cross-race interaction] levels are not only benefiting from simply observing more students interacting across racial differences, but are in all likelihood also benefiting from the overall institutional quality that sustains positive race relations" (p. 18). Although individual interactions led to the most benefit, this study showed that even student who are not interacting across race are benefiting from the presence of increased diversity on campus.

Conflicting Conclusions about the Benefits of Diversity

There was a very limited amount of research published with conclusions contrary to the body of research examined. One study by Rothman et al. (2003) was based on a survey of 140 colleges sponsored by the National Association of Scholars (a major

opponent of affirmative action). Rothman et al. examined an institution's percentage of African American students (which ranged from 0-43 percent) with students' satisfaction with their education and perceptions of quality of education at these schools (as measured by perceptions of work habits and readiness of students). The inclusion of a university with 0% African Americans in the study is questionable, since the percentage of African Americans was one of the primary characteristics being analyzed. Rothman et al. asserted that larger percentages of African American students contributed to lower levels of satisfaction. However, there was no longitudinal data presented to substantiate these claims. Rothman et al. also claimed to address the issue of diversity, but did not examine interracial interactions. Rothman et al.'s work also has shortcomings because it states that the institutions serving large numbers of African American students suffer *because of* affirmative action. However, institutions serving large numbers of African American students are typically not selective enough to include consideration of race in admission decisions. Therefore, the study examined an issue that is not relevant to the debate over affirmative action in higher education. In response to the Rothman et al. (2003) study, Gurin et al. (2004) presented some of the critiques discussed above.

The second study published with conclusions contrary to the body of research examined was by Kuklinski (2006). Kuklinski questioned the validity of the conclusions reached by the studies used in the *Gratz* and *Grutter* cases. Kuklinski asserted that using a different data sets and a different research design led to contrary conclusions about the efficacy of campus diversity. In making this claim, Kuklinski referenced work of Rothman et al. (2003) as the study that reached contrary conclusions to Gurin et al.'s (2004a) work by using a different data set and design. Since Rothman et al.'s study had

shortcomings (as discussed above); Kuklinski's conclusions were based on comparing studies that addressed entirely different topics. Additionally, Kuklinski found flaws with the work of Gurin et al., without questioning the validity of Rothman et al.'s work. Both Rothman et al. and Kuklinski's studies were published in journals focused on public opinion, rather than sociological or educational issues.

While there is limited research refuting the benefits of diversity, the limitations in the methodology of this work and the strength and amount of research which document the benefit of diversity supports the need and relevance for diversity on college campuses. Given the extensive amount of research that supports these benefits, it is important for universities to find ways to increase diversity. This study can extend the body of knowledge by showing how diversity contributes to students emerging as social justice allies.

Openness to Diversity

As cited in the research previously discussed, even with increased diversity, the student outcomes experienced as a result of diversity are influenced by institutional mission, campus climate, and student characteristics. Most closely related to how much students will interact with people different than themselves is their level of openness to diversity. A student's openness to diversity in turn influences what activities s/he will become involved in, the friends s/he will make and many other factors of the lived college experience.

Several factors are related to a student's openness to diversity. Pascarella et al. (1996) conducted one of the first studies evaluating these factors, which examined the

influences on students' openness to diversity in the first year of college. The authors reported that

> After controlling for precollege level of openness to diversity/challenge and other confounding influences, students who lived on campus, who studied the most, and who were most engaged with their student peers tended to have the highest levels of end-of-first year openness to diversity/challenge. (p. 188)

Students who participated in a diversity awareness workshop also reported higher levels of openness to diversity/challenge. The stronger positive effects of participation in a workshop and living on campus were documented for white students, in comparison to students of color. "With other influences held constant, belonging to a fraternity or sorority had a significant negative impact on openness to diversity/challenge, and the largest negative impact was observed for white (versus nonwhite) students" (Pascarella et al., 1996, p. 188). This study documented the factors that have positive and negative influences on a student's openness to diversity in the first year of college.

While some factors may influence students throughout their college experience, there are also influences particular to each individual year of college. To examine if the factors influencing openness to diversity are different for first year versus second or third year students, Whitt et al. (2001) studied influences on students' openness to diversity in the second and third years of college. The results of this study were compared to the results from Pascarella et al. (1996), which was based on first year students. For the second and third years of college, Whitt et al. (2001) found that certain experiences and factors can led to an increase in students' openness to diversity, regardless of precollege level of openness. They showed that women (as compared to men) and older students (as compared to younger students) are significantly more likely to be open to diversity and challenge. As Pascarella et al.'s (1996) study documented, Whitt et al. found that

participation in a diversity awareness workshop positively influenced students' openness to diversity, no matter what year of college (first, second or third) they participated. Another significant finding was

> In the third year of the study, net of all other influences, the total number of credit hours completed had a significant positive association with openness to diversity and challenge. By implication, simply increasing one's exposure to college (e.g., by accumulating credits increases one's openness to diversity and challenge, regardless of sex, race, age, precollege openness, types of courses taken, perceptions of the environment, nature of acquaintances, and so on). (p. 193)

While participation in college itself was important, so was the influence of a student's peer group (Whitt et al., 2001).

Further research revealed that students at various sized institutions could be expected to have similar levels of openness to diversity. The Pascarella et al. (1996) and Whitt et al. (2001) studies focused on universities that were small to medium size. In comparison, Summers et al. (2002) studied the effects of college on openness to diversity levels at a large institution. Based on their research at the University of Texas at Austin, the authors concluded that "…overall, students welcomed diversity and challenge as part of their educational experience, although some subgroups were more open than others" (p. 62). This study documented that participation in college, even at a large research university in the South, positively affects students' level of openness to diversity and challenge. This study also supports the selection of the University of Texas at Austin as the research site because it documents students' openness to diversity at this University, which is an important precursor to ally development.

Several factors influence a students' openness to diversity, which in turn affects the outcomes s/he will experience as a result of increased diversity in a study body. This study will also examine how one's level of openness to diversity affects her/his

development as a social justice ally. In addition to the factors identified specifically related to diversity, her/his developmental stage based on cognitive student development theories would also influence how a student experiences diversity.

Student Development and Identity Development Theories

The importance of interaction with diverse groups and learning during the college years is supported by many student development and identity development theories. Students come to college from a variety of backgrounds. The experiences they have had in their families, schools, and communities all affect their starting point in the developmental process that will occur as they matriculate through college. Several authors have offered theories and models to help explain the developmental processes that occur during college and the various stages students may reach by graduation. The following describes some of the general models most relevant to understanding the development of students who become social justice allies.

Foundational College Student Development Theories

One of the most widely applied student development theories was created by Chickering and Reisser (1993) and built on Chickering's earlier model (1969). The updated model used conclusions from more recent research studies and analysis of updated development models to improve the 1969 model. In the updated model, "We [Chickering & Reisser] have tried to use language that is gender free and appropriate for persons of diverse backgrounds" (p. 44). The changes made in the model reflects the contemporary emphasis on recognizing and appreciating difference, while using theories to explain the development process of students from all cultural backgrounds.

This student development theory is useful because it described the primary developmental stages a student experiences, in addition to key influences that affect the student. The Chickering and Reisser (1993) model included seven vectors. The first vector, developing competence, addressed three forms of competence—intellectual, physical and manual skills, and interpersonal competence. Managing emotions, the second vector, addressed how students learn to appropriately express negative emotions, while becoming aware of positive emotions. The third vector, moving through autonomy toward interdependence, explained the need for both emotional and instrumental independence to develop in order to move towards recognition and acceptance of interdependence. Developing mature interpersonal relationships, the fourth vector, was described as involving "(1) tolerance and appreciation of differences (2) capacity for intimacy" (p. 48). The fifth vector, establishing identity, explained the need for

> (1) Comfort with body and appearance, (2) comfort with gender and sexual orientation, (3) sense of self in a social, historical, and cultural context, (4) clarification of self-concept through roles and life-style, (5) sense of self in response to feedback from valued others, (6) self-acceptance and self-esteem, and (7) personal stability and integration. (p. 49)

"Establishing identity also includes reflecting on one's family of origin and ethnic heritage, defining self as a part of a religious or cultural tradition, and seeing self within a social and historical context" (p. 29). The sixth vector, developing purpose, addressed three areas where students need to develop purpose: vocational plans and aspirations, personal interests, and interpersonal and family commitments. The seventh and final vector, developing integrity, was described as involving

> Three sequential but overlapping stages: (1) humanizing values—shifting away from automatic application of uncompromising beliefs and using principled thinking in balancing of one's own self-interest with the interests of one's fellow human beings, (2) personalizing values—consciously affirming core values and

> beliefs while respecting other points of view, and (3) developing congruence—matching personal values with socially responsible behavior. (p. 51)

The college student development process explained by Chickering and Reisser's (1993) model are influenced by key factors the authors identified. These key influences are: clear and consistent institutional objectives, institutional size, student-faculty relationships, curriculum, teaching, friendships and student communities, and student development programs and services. The authors hypothesized that "educationally powerful environments" (p. 279) can be created by using the knowledge created through research on the key principles and factors needed in these environments to encourage and allow students to fully develop.

The fourth and fifth vectors represent the stages where students begin to recognize and become aware of difference between themselves and others. The seventh vector is when a student develops personal values, which will influence how s/he will interact with people different than her/himself. All of these stages are influenced by the key factors identified, which include institutional characteristics, friendship networks and programs/services offered by student affairs. Although not directly related, the concepts in the Chickering and Reisser model are complementary to factors identified as related to the development of social justice allies.

The updates made to Chickering's earlier model (1969) by Chickering and Reisser (1993) were influenced by theories and research including the work of Baxter Magolda (1992). Baxter Magolda researched how students' ways of knowing and how this process develops throughout the college years. She found that these processes occur in both males in females, but realized differences between male and female patterns of ways of knowing.

Baxter Magolda's model was developed using a sample of students from a predominately white university. Only three students of color were included in the sample. With limited data on underrepresented groups, Baxter Magolda (1992) suggested two contexts that may affect students of color differently than white students—dominance-subordination and socialization. The dominance-subordination context may be seen in three different relationships present in the educational setting: (1) educator and student, (2) objectivist and social constructivist perspective, and (3) majority and minority parties. The authority of educators over students, the dominance of the objectivist versus the social constructivist perspective, and the dominance of majority group members over minority group members can all lead to subordination and may negatively affect a student's confidence and desire or willingness to express her/his views. Baxter Magolda's (1992) work documented the presence of gender-related patterns in ways of knowing. These patterns are likely related to different patterns of socialization for males and females. Differences in the ways African American and white children are socialized may also lead to differences in ways of knowing between these groups.

While understanding Baxter Magolda's theory is important, further discussion/explanation of this theory and other foundational developmental theories has been omitted to allow more of a focus on theories/concepts directly related to social justice allies. A major step in the development of becoming an ally is to understand the systemic nature of privilege and oppression. How one understands these concepts is influenced by the way s/he is socialized, which as Baxter Magolda explained, is also influenced by one's gender, race/ethnicity and other traits. The Cycle of Socialization,

created by Harro (2000) is a helpful illustration of how oppression is created and sustained, even without active participation of the people being socialized.

The Cycle of Socialization

The Cycle of Socialization (Harro, 2000a) described how each person is socialized in ascribed social identities starting at birth through adulthood. Figure 1 provides an illustration of this theory. The cycle starts with The Beginning when people are born into an established system, with some groups that are dominant (considered the "norm") and others that are target (subordinate) groups. The First Socialization (Harro, 2000a) follows and occurs when the people closest to the child teaches her/him what they have learned from their backgrounds.

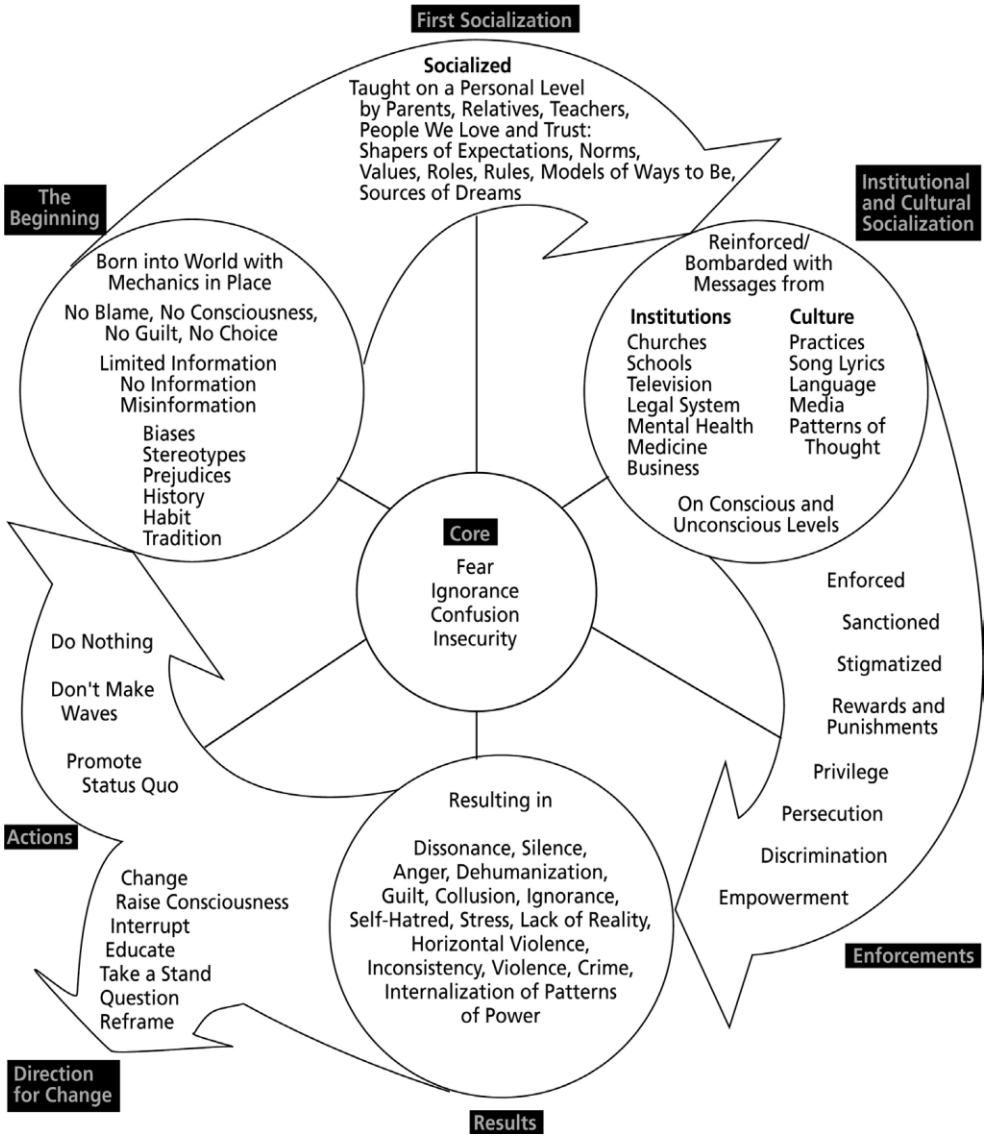


Figure 1 Cycle of Socialization (Harro, 2000a)

Source: Harro, B. (2000a). The cycle of socialization. In M. Adams, W. J. Blumenfeld, R. Castaneda, H. W. Hackman, M. L. Peters, and X. Zuniga (Eds.) *Readings for diversity and social justice* (pp. 15-21). New York: Routledge.

Next, Institutional and Cultural Socialization occurs when someone begins to attend school, a place of worship, medical facilities, or other institutions. The person is being taught the rules and systems through the experiences they have within these institutions. "If we are members of the groups that benefit from the rules, we many not notice that they aren't fair. If we are members of the groups that are penalized by the rules, we may have a constant feeling of discomfort" (p. 18). Enforcement is the next step where the rules people have been taught previously are reinforced. Next, are the Results when members of targeted groups experience internalized oppression while members of dominant groups may experience guilt or continued ignorance. Finally, is Action when people can decide to do nothing and allow the cycle to continue uninterrupted, or may take action to interrupt the cycle. The core of the cycle—fear, ignorance, confusion and insecurity, serve as elements that contribute to the cycle continuing, even without active collusion of the participants (Harro, 2000a).

As discussed, the way socialization occurs is influenced by one's race/ethnicity. This study can extend our knowledge of how the socialization process can be interrupted to allow students to become social justice allies, rather than perpetuating the existing system. The socialization process influences how one views the racial/ethnic group to which s/he belongs. How this racial/ethnic group membership influences one's view of her/himself is influenced by her/his racial identity. Several theories and models offer explanations of the racial identity development process.

Racial Identity Development

The way a student experiences college is affected by a student's identity and the way s/he views her/himself. This understanding of self is related to one's race/ethnicity.

The following identity development theories contribute to an enhanced understanding of the motivations for certain behaviors or views, particularly when they are not congruent with past behaviors.

Prior to the 1990s, researchers developed racial identity models that specified processes for people of color or whites. One of the first racial identity development models to address more than one racial group was developed by Hardiman and Jackson (1992). An illustration of this model is provided in Figure 2 below. This racial identity model with five stages focused on Black and white identity developmental stages during college. The authors focused on the second and third stages of their model because they found that most students (Black and white) were in one of these two stages while they matriculated. The first stage was naïve, a passive stage typically experienced in early childhood when children are not conscious of their social or racial identity. The second stage was acceptance, experienced by accepting "prevailing social definitions of Blackness and Whiteness" (p. 23). This stage was experienced in both passive and active ways, with people experiencing similar beliefs, but exhibiting different behaviors. The third stage was resistance, when people rejected the definitions of Blackness and whiteness accepted in the previous stage. As with stage two, resistance was manifested passively or actively, with similar beliefs, but different behaviors. The fourth stage was redefinition, when people redefined their own racial identities. The fifth and final stage was internalization that involved integrating the redefined identity with all other areas of one's self-identity.

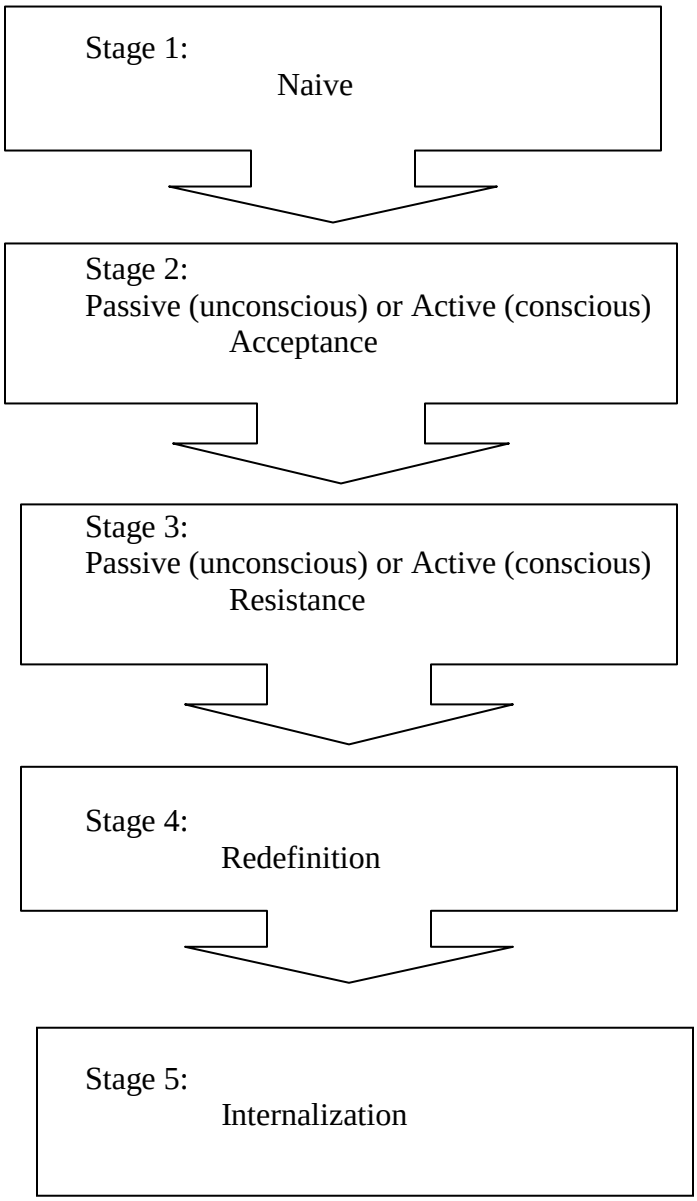


Figure 2

Stages of Racial Identity Development (based on Hardiman and Jackson, 1992)

Each of the stages described by Hardiman and Jackson (1992) were experienced differently by Black and white students, which led to different behaviors and attitudes. This racial identity model was developed to help college faculty and administrators understand the many stages students may experience and how they may effectively respond to students in each stage of development in ways that promote the students' continued growth and progress. However, Hardiman and Jackson (1992) provide caution when applying this model.

> Rather than misusing it as a set of labels or new stereotypes, our hope is that readers will use this model to understand better the racial identity component of their own developmental processes, identify the individual characteristics or cues that constitute the broad brush strokes called "developmental stages," and thereby understand and respect the racial identity development processes that are likely to be stimulated by rapid changes in our social world and refracted back even more intensely onto our college campuses. (p. 36)

Progression through the stages in Hardiman and Jackson's (1992) model "can be described as shifts in worldview or consciousness in sequential stages" (p. 22). This relates to consciousness of one's membership in a dominant and/or targeted group.

Being aware of membership in a dominant and/or targeted group is closely related to awareness of one's level of privilege and/or oppression in relation to others. The complexity of one's understanding of these concepts influences how one perceive her/himself and others. Chizhik and Chizhik (2005) studied students' consciousness of their own and other's levels of privilege and oppression. Overall, their study showed that white students' view of privilege and oppression differed from students' of color understanding of these concepts. As a group, students of color demonstrated more complex understanding of privilege and oppression and were more likely to see themselves and others as both privileged and oppressed, whereas white students most

often saw themselves and others as privileged without awareness of the complexities related to privilege and oppression. Most students in the study (white and students of color) identified as privileged because of their family backgrounds and educational status, but students of color, especially women, also saw themselves and other targeted groups as privileged in some areas while being oppressed in others. Students generally perceived others' level of privilege or oppression in ways similar to how they perceived their own privilege. Without a complex understanding of privilege and oppression in one's self and others, students were unlikely to be engaged or interested in social justice work (Chizhik & Chizhik, 2005). Therefore, since they are more likely to have less complex understanding of privilege and oppression, this may be an additional barrier in ally development for white students.

Also related to the complexity of perceptions about oneself and others, Tatum (1997) acknowledged the complexity of racial identity and all that shapes an individual's concept of self:

> …how one's racial identity is experienced will be mediated by other dimensions of oneself: male or female; young or old; wealthy, middle-class, or poor; gay, lesbian, bisexual, transgender, or heterosexual; able-bodied or with disabilities; Christian, Muslim, Jewish, Buddhist, Hindu or atheist. (p. 18)

As part of Tatum's study, she asked students to identify themselves with as many descriptors they thought of in sixty seconds. She found an interesting pattern of responses from students. "Common across these examples is that the areas where a person is a member of the dominant or advantaged social group [i.e. White, male, Christian, etc.], the category is usually not mentioned. That element of their identity is so taken for granted by them that it goes without comment" (p. 21). Tatum found that most people are members of both targeted (subordinated) and dominant groups. This is similar to Chizhik

and Chizhik's (2005) study, which documented that most people are members of both privileged and oppressed groups, although many students in their study were only aware of their privilege and not their oppression (or targeted group membership).

Tatum suggested that reflection on membership in a dominant or subordinate group allowed people to "consider the commonality" (p. 23) of the experience, even if the source of subordination or domination were different. She further explained that dominant group members rarely have intimate knowledge of targeted groups. However, out of necessity subordinate group members need to be well informed about dominant groups. Tatum (1997) reminded all readers of their role in the systems of power that create dominant and subordinate groups. "The task of resisting our own oppression does not relieve us of the responsibility of acknowledging our complicity in the oppression of others" (p. 27). Recognizing their role in perpetuating oppression is particularly important for the development of whites who may not easily recognize their unearned privilege. This study may extend our knowledge of how students understand privilege and oppression by examining how social justice allies have come to understand these terms.

White Identity Development

The institutional context and demographics of the student population at The University of Texas at Austin made it likely that a large proportion of the participants in my research project would be white. In fact, four of the ten participants are white. Therefore, it is important to understand white identity development specifically. Several others have written about white identity development (Hardiman, 1992; Helms, 1984 1993; Tatum, 1994; Waters, 1992) and noted that the development of white students and

adolescents differ from others because of their position of dominance in society. The white racial identity model developed by Helms (1984, 1993) has been used as the foundation for other models, theories and frameworks. Her model was also empirically tested. Therefore, this model is presented in detail. An illustration of this model is provided in Figure 3.

Helms' model (1993) was developed and closely linked the development of a white identity with overcoming racism. "The evolution of a positive White racial identity consists of two processes, the abandonment of racism and the development of a non-racist White identity" (Helms, 1993, p. 49). Her model is focused on interactions between Blacks and whites because of the historical context that have divided these groups. The model has two phases—Phase 1: Abandonment of Racism and Phase 2: Defining a Nonracist White Identity. In Phase 1 the white person goes through three stages—Contact, Disintegration and Reintegration. The Contact stage is marked by limited interaction with Blacks and defining Blacks using stereotypes. In the Disintegration stage, the process described included acknowledgement of one's Whiteness and questioning of previously taught racial beliefs. These processes can lead to discomfort which the person may try to reduce by avoiding Blacks, trying to change others beliefs about Blacks, and/or seeking information to reduce feelings of guilt about one's involvement in the perpetuation of racism.

The final stage in Phase 1 is Reintegration. This stage represents the first step in acknowledging a White identity. However, the role of oppression is not acknowledged and the person in this stage believes s/he has earned the privileges s/he experiences. "Any residual feelings of guilt and anxiety [from the Disintegration stage] are transformed into

fear and anger toward Black people" (p. 60). Helms explained that it is relatively easy for whites in the United States to remain in the Reintegration stage, unless something happens to prompt someone to begin to abandon their racist identity.

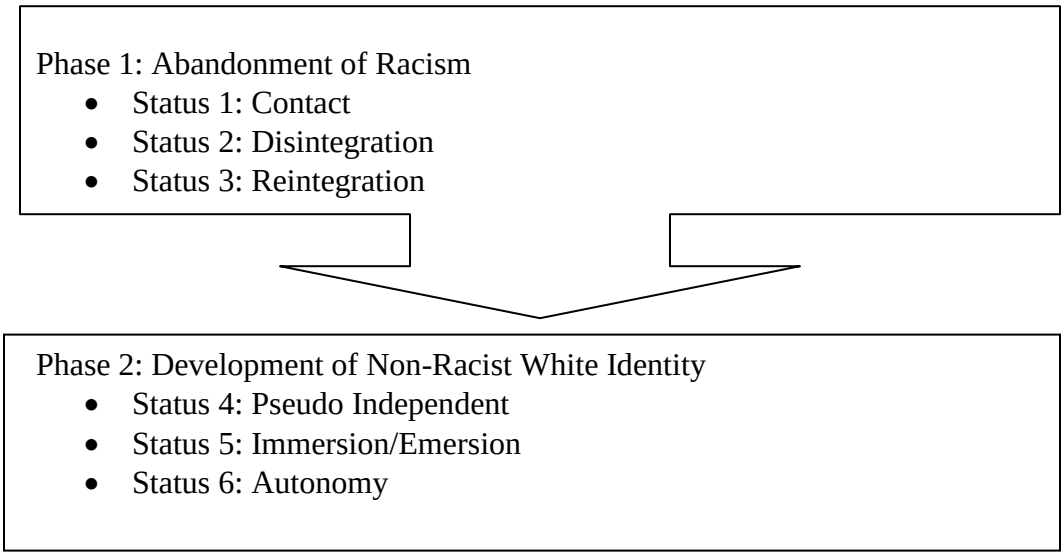


Figure 3 White Identity Development (based on Helms, 1993)

Phase 2 begins with the Pseudo-Independent stage and begins the processes of developing a positive white identity. In this stage, the white person acknowledges their role in perpetuating racism and oppression, although s/he may still engage in behaviors thought to help that unintentionally perpetuate the system. The next step, Immersion/Emersion involves seeking out accurate information to replace previously held beliefs based on misinformation or stereotypes. Changing Black people may have been attempted in previous stages, in an effort to "help," but the focus in the Immersion/Emersion stage shifts to changing whites. The final stage in Phase 2 is Autonomy. In this stage "it is possible for him or her [the white person] to abandon

cultural and institutional racism as well as personal racism…actively seeking opportunities to learn from other cultural groups" (Helms, 1993, p. 66). Although a person may reach the Autonomy stage this is an ongoing process.

As Helms' model highlighted, development can be the result of several collective experiences, or one experience that leads in a change in perception or view. The types of experiences that may lead to change can happen at various times during college. This study may contribute knowledge by exploring the experiences (and related meaning) of student social justice allies. Experiences and interactions that have been highlighted in the research as leading to change in students are discussed in the following section.

Educational Experiences and Interactions

Several interactions and experiences within the college environment can serve to increase a students' openness to diversity and/or increase understanding of difference. The following sections address specific activities/experiences that have been documented as most successful and the effects of these on students.

Engberg (2004) conducted a critical analysis of all existing research on educational interventions and their effect on racial bias levels. He analyzed studies focusing on four types of educational interventions aimed at reducing racial bias: multicultural courses, diversity workshops, peer-based interventions, and service based interventions. Taken together, the body of research reviewed "suggests that the majority of educational interventions are effective in reducing bias" (p. 501). However, Engberg explained concern for how some of these studies were conducted and offers strategies for improving the measurement, research design, and analysis used in studies evaluating

educational interventions, as well as providing a strong conceptual framework for other researchers to use.

One educational intervention that has been analyzed by several researchers is participation in a diversity course or workshop. The following section describes the student outcomes that have been documented as a result of participation.

Influence of Participation in Diversity Course/Workshop

One benefit of participation in a diversity course or workshop is learning to communicate with people different than oneself. A study by Nelson Laird, Engberg, and Hurtado (2005) directly supported the notion that participation in a diversity course helps students be prepared for working with diverse groups of people by helping them develop skills to effectively communicate across differences. In addition, participation in a diversity course also had a significant, positive influence on a student's commitment to taking action against injustice in her/his community. Therefore, diversity coursework not only helped increase students' communication skills, but also increased their willingness to take action against oppression. Willingness to take action is an important skill for aspiring social justice allies, so participation in a diversity course may be a contributing factor in ally development.

While all students may benefit from participation in a diversity course or workshop, some students may be less exposed to diversity based on their background, and therefore, may benefit more from participation. Springer et al. (1996) found that attitudes toward diversity varied based on the students' background, gender and major. Based on the analysis, the authors concluded that certain groups of students, including students with educated parents, male students, students in more conservative/traditional

majors (such as science, business or engineering), and students with lower degree aspirations, would all likely benefit from participation in a racial or cultural awareness workshop, given the expected attitude towards diversity of these particular groups as compared to other groups of students. The authors found that students in these groups were, as a group, less aware of diversity, and would therefore benefit more from attending a diversity workshop.

In addition to certain factors influencing a student's level of openness to diversity, similar factors may also influence students to be more resistant to diversity coursework or topics. E. L. Brown (2004) studied white teacher education students' resistance to diversity sensitivity topics in a classroom setting. She found that the techniques/methodology used by the instructor of the class influenced students' change in diversity sensitivity more than the content/message used. Therefore, *how* diversity is discussed and presented at times is more important than *what* is discussed.

Several researchers have recognized how one particular model in classroom diversity education, The Intergroup Dialogue model created at the University of Michigan and used by other universities, contributes to various aspects of student development (Chang, 1999; Gurin et al., 2002; Gurin et al., 2004a; Hurtado, 2001; Nagda et al., 2004). The Intergroup Dialogue model is based on semester long classes, some peer taught, that teach students about various forms of oppression and the systemic nature of it.

Not all of the research on the influence of participation in a diversity course/workshop has consistent findings. Contrasting other studies, Henderson-King et al. (2000) researched how different activities during college affected students' level of

intergroup tolerance and concluded "our results suggest that, in the absence of courses that focus on social diversity, undergraduate students become less tolerant of others over a semester of undergraduate education" (p. 156). Their study focused on participation in a specific diversity course at a particular university looking at changes in attitude over the course of one semester and found that participation in the course "did not enhance tolerance, [but] acted as a buffer against diminishing intergroup tolerance" (p. 156).

In contrast to this study, Chang (2002) studied students' racial attitudes, specifically towards African Americans. He compared the racial attitudes of students who had completed, or were close to completing, a required diversity course with students who were just beginning or had not yet taken the required diversity course. In contrast to Henderson-King et al.'s study, Chang found that students who had participated in a diversity course had significantly more positive attitudes toward African Americans than students who had not fully participated in a diversity course. While the Henderson-King et al. study focused on student participation in one particular non-required diversity course, Chang studied required participation in a variety of courses that all included a diversity component. The studies also differed in statistical methods used, factors measured, methodology, and region of the United States studied.

Despite the contradictory conclusions in the Henderson-King et al. (2000) study, the research reviewed (Brown, 2004; Chang, 1999; Chang, 2002; Gurin et al., 2002; Gurin et al., 2004a; Hurtado, 2001; Nelson Laird et al., 2005; Springer et al., 1996; Stake, 2001) and other studies support the student benefits associated with participation in a course or workshop. Such studies document the importance of universities continuing and expanding these types of opportunities for students.

Influence of Participation in Service-Learning Activities

Participation in service-learning has been shown to lead to various benefits for student participants and the community. Of interest to this study are the benefits related to increased civic responsibility and the opportunity to learn about others.

Of direct relevance is a dissertation written by Dooley (2007) that investigated service learning and student attitudes toward race and social justice. Through in-depth case studies of students participating in a service-learning program, Dooley found that family relationships, identity development and the students' background all influenced how they experienced the service-learning project. Not surprisingly, the student participants all used their experiences with diversity, poverty and community service prior to participation in service-learning as a source of comparison. "The students' existing perceptions and expectations regarding race, poverty, and the role of service were all a potent lens through which experiences were examined, meaning was developed, and conclusions were drawn" (p. 291). Although participation in service-learning was found to influence these students, the effects were highly affected by the students' pre-participation experiences and views.

In addition to influencing views on race, poverty, and the role of service, service-learning also has the potential to influence views on social justice. Eyler, Giles, and Braxton (1997) found that participation in service-learning positively affected perceptions of social justice, even after controlling for other factors.

> Those who participated in the service experiences were more likely to see problems as systemic, to think that changing policy was a better approach than targeting individuals, to believe that improving social justice should be a priority for society, to be able to see things from the perspective of others and to be open to new ideas. (p. 13)

Further experiences analyzed in this study, including interaction with faculty and previous community services experiences, did not produce similar outcomes, showing that service-learning may be a unique opportunity for student learning about social justice.

Other researchers (Astin, 1998; Krain et al, 2004; Moely et al., 2002; Monard-Weissman, 2003) also documented the effectiveness of service-learning in increasing students' understanding of societal factors, commitment to social justice, civic responsibility and desire to take action.

Influence of Experiences Outside of the Classroom

In addition to classroom experiences, activities, interactions, and environments outside of the classroom also influence the development of students. This is well demonstrated by Kuh's (1993) study. This project demonstrated multiple development patterns that emerge from talking with college seniors about what contributed to their development during college. Of interest to this study are the comments recognizing how college allowed students to learn about people different than themselves in terms of racial, ethnic and cultural backgrounds.

> This study suggests that experiences outside the classroom are an important venue where students not only develop an appreciation for people from backgrounds different from their own (the affective psychological outcome), but also cultivate skills that enable them to relate personally to such students (an affective behavioral outcome). (p. 297)

Several studies have addressed how specific characteristics of the co-curricular environment influence student's development while in college. One factor that affects many aspects of a student's life is her/his friends. Areas influenced by friendships, that may not be expected are leadership skills and cultural knowledge. Antonio (2001) studied

how casual and close friend relationships affect the development of cultural knowledge and understanding and the development of leadership skills. He concluded, "Frequent interracial interaction among students may be more important in developing cultural knowledge than involvement in formal activities such as cultural awareness workshops" (p. 593). Therefore, interactions with friends or acquaintances who are of a different race/ethnicity may be more influential in students' perceptions of others than formal activities specifically designed to teach about difference.

Social interactions with peers different than oneself, even outside of a friendship, may also lead to development and increased understanding of difference. Sidanius, Levin, van Laar, and Sears (2008) conducted a study about social identity and intergroup relations. They documented how the college experience affects students in several ways. Related to Antonio's study, they (Sidanius et al., 2008) found that

> contact with outgroup members [members of a different racial/ethnic group] as college friends, dating partners, randomly assigned roommates, and voluntarily selected roommates—close interpersonal contact with ethnic and racial outgroup members tended to liberalize students' racial and ethnic attitudes. (p. 314)

These studies (Antonio, 2001; Sidanius et al., 2008) emphasized the potential for learning outside of the classroom, through informal interactions with diverse peers as friends, roommates, and/or dating partners.

Another factor found to increase students' openness to diversity is living on campus. Pike (2002) conducted a study on students' openness to diversity comparing students who lived in on-campus residence halls, to those who lived off-campus. He found that students who lived on campus were more open to diversity compared to students who lived off campus. Since first and second year students tend to live on campus, this may have more of an effect on these students, than older students. As Kuh

(2003) explained in a later study, "by their senior year, most students live off campus and are less exposed to campus activities that promote diversity awareness and have fewer naturally occurring opportunities for interacting with people who are different" (p. 31). Rowan-Kenyon et al. (2007) investigated how participation in a living-learning program influences students' civic engagement level by comparing students living in this environment with those in a traditional residence hall. While living-learning programs were important, more significant factors, including precollege perceptions, in-college participation in community service and student government, were documented.

Overall, the research available demonstrated that experiences inside and outside of the classroom have the potential to increase a student's openness to diversity and provide opportunities to learn about people difference than oneself. This study may extend the knowledge by exploring the specific ways different experiences affect students who become social justice allies. Being open to diversity and willing to learn from difference is an important precursor in the development of social justice allies. Several other factors are directly and indirectly related to social justice ally development, and need to be understood.

Social Justice Allies

All of the above work demonstrates factors, activities, processes, environments and experiences that contribute to students becoming more open to diversity, more aware of cultural differences, more cognizant of social injustice, more civically engaged, and more aware of systemic influences shaping oppression and privilege in society. This increased awareness leads some students to becoming social justice allies for targeted groups while others with similar levels of awareness do not become allies. Thus, the

following section is an exploration of the existing research on the processes and experiences that contribute to one becoming a social justice ally.

Ally Development Models

Although the study of allies is relatively new, several researchers (Bishop, 2002; Davis & Wagner, 2005; Edwards, 2006; Evans & Broido, 2005; Evans et al., 2005; Washington & Evans, 1991) have provided information that increased understanding of the ally development process. Specifically, Washington and Evans' (1991) model focused on the development of allies for gay, lesbian, and bisexual persons. They proposed four levels in ally development: 1) awareness, 2) knowledge/education, 3) skills, and, 4) action. Washington and Evans also discussed additional points that are important to be cognizant of in the ally development process. First, they urged allies to develop understanding of sexual orientation, including their personal sexual orientation. Second, they encouraged allies to learn about the coming out process through reading and talking with lesbian, gay and bisexual persons. Third, was a reminder to be aware of the messages everyone, including the lesbian, gay and bisexual people, receive about homosexuality and bisexuality. Fourth, was acknowledgement of the diversity that exists within the gay, lesbian and bisexual community. Finally, was encouragement to learn basic information about AIDS/HIV to be knowledgeable in these areas since these topics may arise during discussions of heterosexism and homophobia (Washington & Evans, 1991).

Further, Washington and Evans discussed three primary factors that can discourage advocacy for the lesbian, gay and bisexual communities. First, the heterosexual community may make assumptions "anyone supporting gay rights is

automatically gay, lesbian, or bisexual" (p. 202). Second, "the gay, lesbian, and bisexual community also may have trouble accepting the heterosexual ally. Often an assumption is made that such persons are really gay, lesbian, or bisexual but not yet accepting of their identity" (p. 202). Third, "heterosexual supporters can feel out of place and awkward in settings populated exclusively or mainly by gay men, lesbians, and bisexuals" (p. 203). While these factors may discourage advocacy, Washington and Evans (1991) also discussed many benefits of being an ally, including: opening oneself up to relationships with an additional 10% of the world; challenging sex role stereotypes; and, making the difference in the lives of adolescents who hear you confront oppressive language in schools.

Instead of focusing on traits related to oppression or the targeted population that one can be an ally to, Evans and Broido (2005) used models related to the agent group identity to analyze another area of ally development. Also focused on allies to the gay, lesbian and bisexual community, Evans and Broido (2005) applied heterosexual identity development models (Mohr, 2002; Simoni & Walters, 2001; Sullivan, 1998; Worthington et al., 2002) to allies and found that "it appears that a first step in the development of positive attitudes necessary to become an ally to LGB [lesbian, gay, bisexual] individuals is exploration of one's own sexual identity" (p. 47). This assertion is similar to Washington and Evans' (1991) belief that it is important to "have a good understanding of sexual orientation and be aware of and comfortable with your own" (p. 200).

To develop their theory further, Evans and Broido (2005) reviewed the literature on heterosexual attitude and attitude change (Altemeyer, 2001; Baslow & Johnson, 2000; Cotton-Huston & Waite, 2000; Geasler et al., 1995; Grutzeck & Gidycz, 1997; Herek,

1986, 2000; Nelson & Krieger, 1997). They also built on Broido's study (2000) which identified three areas "in which allies can contribute to the creation of an LGBT-affirmative campus environment: personal support, education of others, and institutional advocacy" (p. 51). This allowed them (Evans and Broido, 2005) to provide examples of how allies can contribute to each of the three areas identified by Broido (2000). The authors concluded by stressing the importance of student affairs professionals taking active roles in creating inclusive campus environments and role modeling inclusive behavior.

Focused on allies for another marginalized group, Evans, Assadi and Herriot (2005) used the Washington and Evans model (1991) to explain the development of disability allies. "The concept of disability allies appears to be nonexistent in the literature" (p. 67). After reviewing literature on attitudes toward individuals with disabilities (Benny & Jones, 1991; Brownlee & Carrington, 2000; Favazza et al., 2004; Fichten, 1988; Hannah, 1988; Kelly et al., 1994; Kowalski & Rizzo, 1996; Makas, 1988; Maras & Brown, 1996; Slininger et al., 2000, Yuker, 1994) and disability attitude change (Beattie et al., 1997; Fichten, 1988; Pernice & Lys, 1996; Wesson & Mandell, 1989; Yuker, 1994), Evans et al. suggested ways of being a disability ally focusing on self-education, awareness-raising and advocacy and direct action. The authors provided an important reminder for disability allies, which is relevant to allies for other oppressed groups "allies must always be aware of their own privilege as persons who are not disabled and must be open to having others point out when their own behaviors exhibit oppression" (p. 76). As Evans and Broido (2005) concluded, Evans at al. (2005) also stressed the importance of student affairs professionals educating themselves, serving as

advocates and taking action, serving as role models to help students learn from their example.

In addition to learning information about the group that one aspires to be an ally for, it is also important to become cognizant of one's own oppression in order to become an ally. Bishop (2002) wrote about the interconnection between oppression, liberation and ally behavior, "I don't believe it is possible to become an oppressor without experiencing oppression nor become an ally without being involved in our own experience of liberation" (p. 112). She also provided a list of 18 observations she believes are useful in becoming an ally (pp. 114-119). These observations included the importance of listening and reflecting, realization that everyone in the oppressor group is part of the oppression, acknowledging privilege, speaking up when an oppressive comment is made, taking the initiative to learn about oppression and not expecting to be taught, avoid taking leadership roles or public attention in the liberation process, being yourself, and being honest. Bishop also provided observations for members of oppressed groups working with allies. She concluded with advice on handling the process:

> …the essence of the path to becoming an ally is balance and clarity. One must balance patience with confrontation, flexibility and limits, boundaries and allowances, learning and opinion, humility and self-confidence, your own oppression and others' struggles. Clarity comes from observation, reflection, and analysis in a specific situation. (p. 121)

Bishop reminded readers that becoming an ally is a complex and unique process for each person, requiring attention and reflection each step of the way.

Another area critical for ally development is becoming aware of one's own privilege. This is particularly relevant for men who aspire to be allies for women and fight against sexism. Davis and Wagner (2005) studied methods for increasing men's

development of social justice attitudes and actions. Many barriers decrease men's ally development. First, many males do not recognize or acknowledge their privilege. Unacknowledged privilege serves as a barrier in ally development because one must understand how privilege works in order to become an ally. Second, some of the attributes needed to become an ally such as empathy and receptivity are seen as feminine characteristics, which men are socialized to avoid expressing. Third, men experience contradictory feelings related to power. "Essentially men's contradictory experiences of power suggest that men's social power is both the source of individual privilege and also the source of individual experience of pain and alienation" (p. 33).

Although there are several barriers to men's development as allies for women, Davis and Wagner (2005) also provided specific strategies to help men overcome these challenges. Because of the lack of understanding, strategies that help men acknowledge their privilege is a first step. Understanding male privilege requires helping men understand that they also have a sex and gender. To respond to the second challenge or barrier, student affairs professionals can design programs that help men reflect on their socialization process that contributed to their definition of masculinity and encourage dialogue by creating a safe space. Recognizing that men may have contradictory experiences with power can help men move past the third barrier. Davis and Wagner (2005) concluded by suggesting strategies for men to become allies for women and stressing the importance of student affairs professionals understanding of the three barriers that limit men's ally behavior.

Strategies for encouraging student ally development may also include developing a student culture that is supportive of ally work. Fabiano et al. (2003) studied approaches

to engaging men as allies in ending violence against women. Their study stressed the importance of social norms and the influence of peers in encouraging or blocking men's actions towards ending violence against women. Although it focused on one area for ally action and behavior, the concepts of social norms and the influence of peers are important to consider as factors in the development of social justice allies for any oppressed group.

Review of the literature on ally development reveals that a majority of the existing research focuses on very few areas of privilege/oppression. Evans and Broido (2005) and Washington and Evans (1991) both focused on heterosexual ally development for the gay, lesbian and bisexual communities. Evans et al. (2005) focused on disability allies while investigating the ally development process. Two additional studies, Fabiano et al. (2003) and Davis and Wagner (2005) both focused on the development of male allies. The authors of these studies do not specifically discuss whether of not these ally development models are appropriate for understanding allies for other forms of oppression (such as classism or immigrant status). My conclusion based on analysis of these studies is that they may be applicable, but examination of development of allies against other forms of oppression needs to expand. Through this research project I attempted to address this gap by including allies of various backgrounds working against diverse forms of oppression.

Allies have the potential to effectively fight against oppression and make positive changes. In addition to the barriers discussed, which discourage interest in even aspiring to be an ally, Edwards (2006) provided information about how allies in different stages of development could unintentionally perpetuate oppression while taking action with the intention of being an ally. The identity development model of aspiring social justice allies

presented by Edwards (2006), used Helm's (1993) white racial identity development model and discussed the level of effectiveness as an ally people at each stage of the Helms (1984, 1993) model would demonstrate. Building from this, Edwards presented three types of allies—aspiring ally for self-interest, aspiring ally for altruism, and ally for social justice. He described that aspiring allies for self-interest as "unlikely to confront overt acts of oppression when the people they care about are not present" (p. 46). Further, this type of aspiring ally did not view oppression as systemic and may continue to take actions that unknowingly perpetuate systemic oppression.

Aspiring allies for altruism were described as becoming allies in an effort to deal with the guilt associated with becoming aware of one's unearned privilege. These allies may try to distance themselves from other members of their dominant group(s) and may become defensive if they have made a mistake that is brought to their attention. While these allies begin to see the systemic nature of oppression, they see targeted groups as the victims, instead of everyone. Aspiring allies for altruism can contribute to oppression by attempting to be a "hero" for targeted group, or by seeking out members of the targeted group "to reaffirm and support aspiring allies, once again placing the burden of oppression on members of the subordinate group" (p. 50).

The final type of ally, allies for social justice work in collaboration with members of targeted groups. They recognize that the system of oppression is harmful to everyone, including dominant group members. Allies for social justice "seek to develop systems and structures to hold themselves accountable and to held accountable by members of the oppressed groups, without placing the burden for accountability on the oppressed" (Edwards, 2006, p. 51). These concepts are supported by the work of Harro (2000) and

Kivel (2002). Edwards (2006) stressed that this model is intended as a tool for self-reflection and that the status represented by each type of ally are more fluid than chronological. He concluded, "The ally for social justice status is an aspirational identity one must continuously work towards" (p. 53). As described, the process of becoming an ally requires acknowledgement and recognition of the role and influence of privilege. This concept is explored in more detail in the following section.

Development of Allies with Privilege

Becoming an ally for an oppressed group requires individual growth and development. This is a challenging process with many potential barriers to overcome. The ally development process is particularly challenging for people from privileged groups.

Tatum (1994) used Helms' (1993) model of white racial identity development to understand the responses many of her students have had to discussions about race and racism in the classroom. As discussed previously, Helms' model is further broken down into six stages—Contact, Disintegration, Reintegration, Pseudo-independent, Immersion/Emersion, and Autonomy and involves overcoming racism and developing a positive white identity. The Contact stage is characterized by having little to no acknowledgement of being white, viewing oneself as free of prejudice, and unaware of judgments/assumptions one makes about other racial groups. In Tatum's twelve years of teaching, she found that the majority of white students were in the Contract stage at the beginning of the semester.

After using Helms' model to explain the responses she saw while teaching, Tatum (1994) presented three models of whiteness available to students—the "white

supremacist," the "what whiteness?" view, and the "guilty white" model (p. 471). Tatum argued, "None of these three models of whiteness is attractive to the white individual struggling to define a positive sense of whiteness" (p. 471) and suggested the model of the "white ally" as a positive alternative. Tatum encouraged educators to provide information about the history of white protest against racism and the stories of white antiracist activists. Speaking about her classes' experience hearing from white allies, she said "White students, who often comment about how depressing it is to study about racism, typically say that the opportunity to talk with this [white] ally gave them renewed hope" (p. 472). Tatum also discussed the importance of allies having support and provided caution for potential allies.

> In addition, white students should not be led to believe that the role of the ally is to "help" victims of racism. The role of the ally is to speak up against systems of oppression, and to challenge other whites to do the same. Teaching about racism needs to shift from an exploration of the experiences of the victims and victimizers to that of empowered people of color and their white allies, creating the possibility of working together as partners in the establishment of a more just society. (p. 474)

Tatum concluded by providing a list of suggested resources for aspiring allies that includes autobiographies and biographies of white allies.

In addition to the lack of role models and the barriers that discourage ally development, there is additional resistance to discussing social justice issues in classrooms, which limits another possible opportunity for the encouragement of social justice ally development. Chizhik and Chizhik (2005) studied students' reaction to social justice topics in the classroom and identified several causes of student resistance to discussion of social justice. The factors they identified help explain why there are not higher levels of social justice allies during college. In support of Tatum's work, Chizhik

and Chizhik documented the lack of visible role models for white students becoming allies. This study will help identify and elucidate the experiences of white social justice allies.

While many of the researchers documented barriers for ally development, Goodman (2000) provided three factors that motivate people to become allies. These were empathy, moral principles and spiritual values, and self-interest. Empathy was best evoked through personal knowledge and relationships with people--learning from other's life experiences. Empathy best led to ally work when one understood the systemic nature of the oppression experienced by others in various situations. Moral and spiritual values motivated social justice work when people gained an understanding of the causes of social inequities and the possibility of correcting these. The third motivation for social justice, self-interest, was explained as "instead of defining self-interest merely as selfish concern, we can define it more broadly to include benefits to oneself that do not necessarily exclude benefits to others as well" (p. 1072). While each of these factors—empathy, moral principles and spiritual values, and self-interest—may each motivate support for social justice, these factors often contribute to motivation when combined.

All of the strategies discussed are methods that have the potential to encourage students to become social justice allies. Another precursor to beginning to take action is having interest in social justice and experiences that help one develop skills that allow her/him to be ready and prepared to act.

Social Justice Interest and Readiness

While ally development can be blocked by certain factors and encouraged by others, the likelihood of whether or not one will become an ally can be determined in part by their level of interest in and readiness for social justice action. Several researchers

(Broido, 1997; Broido & Reason, 2005; Chen-Hayes, 2001; Chizhik & Chizhik, 2002; Malaney et al., 2005, Nilsson et al., 2005; Reason & Davis, 2005) have studied factors that influence level of interest and readiness for social justice work.

One's level of interest and readiness for social justice action in college begins with her/his pre-college experiences and perspectives as a baseline, which is then influenced by her/his college experiences that in turn affects her/his level of interest and readiness. An example of this cumulative model was developed by Broido and Reason (2005) who used Astin's (1993) input-environment-output (I-E-O) model as a framework for their analysis of the development of social justice attitudes and actions. This model/framework allowed for analysis of precollege factors (input) and college experiences (environment) to better understand differences in student outcomes post-college (output). To apply this model to social justice attitudes and actions, the authors used Broido's (1997, 2000) Model of College Student Ally Development to identify processes specific to interest, readiness and action related to social justice. The Broido model, based on her study of six white, heterosexual students who became allies, identified patterns of ally development. Figure 4 provides an illustration of this model. The students in her study came to college with accepting attitudes towards people different from themselves and generally believed in equal opportunity for everyone. While in college, the students acquired new information about social justice, usually through classroom activities. The students were able to make meaning from this new information, through discussion and reflection. Another pattern identified was that the students who became allies had confidence in themselves and their knowledge about social justice. They also developed skills in areas important to becoming allies. While

each of these patterns was important, the students believed that they would not have become allies unless there had been a chance (unplanned) opportunity to become an ally and/or they had been recruited to become an ally. The importance of this chance and recruitment needs to be stressed, as there are many students who acquire knowledge, make meaning of it, have confidence and skill, but do not become allies.

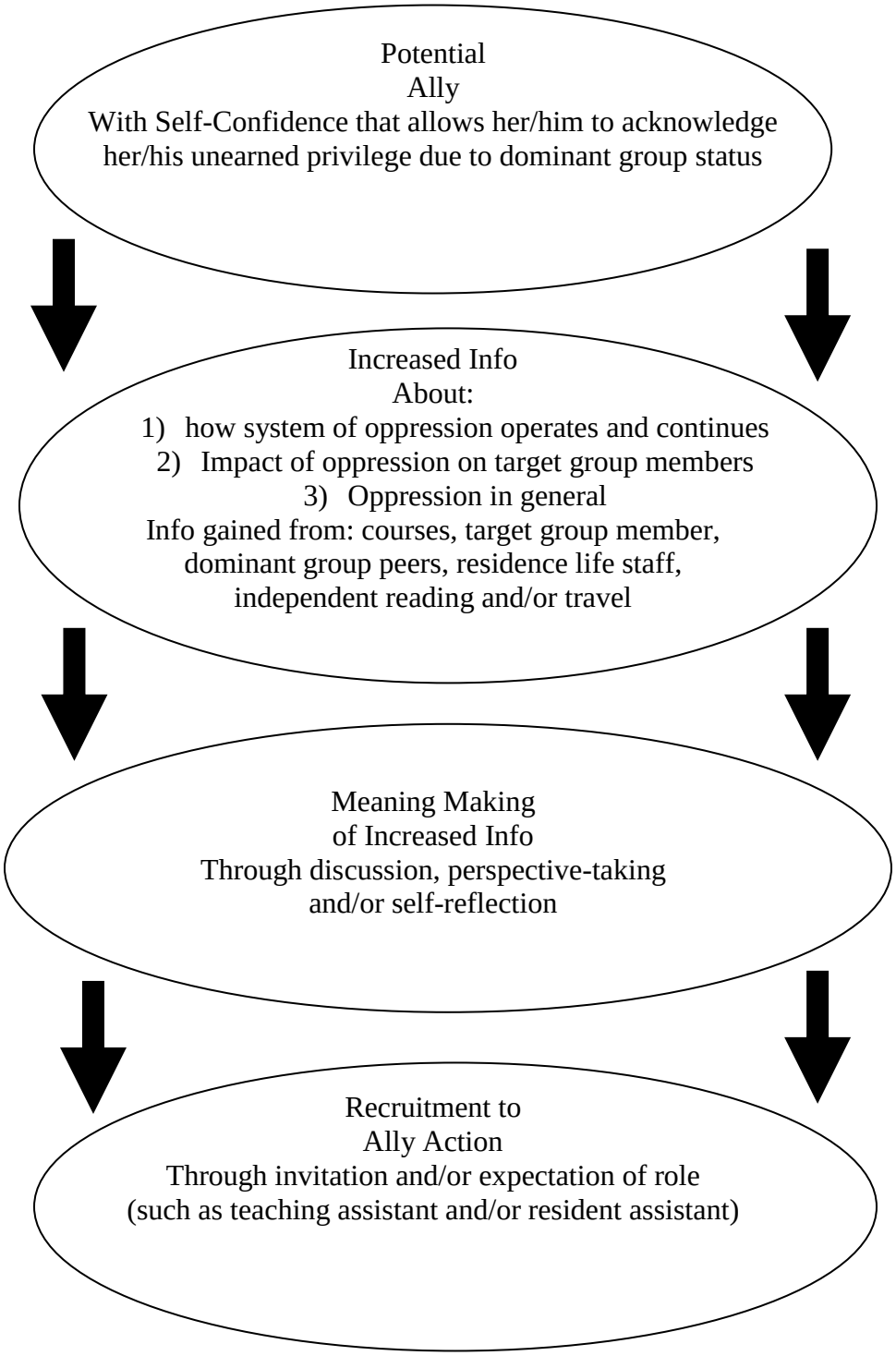


Figure 4 Model of College Student Ally Development (Broido, 1997, 2000)

Also using pre-college experiences and attitudes as a baseline, Malaney and Berger (2005) examined students' precollege environments and activities and entry characteristics to determine the effects of these factors on democratic outcomes related to a student's readiness for diversity engagement. Not surprisingly, the authors concluded "students who are more engaged with diversity prior to college are more likely to perceive themselves as ready to proactively engage with diversity as college students" (p. 443). However, as Orfield and Lee (2005) have demonstrated with their analysis of data from the National Center for Education Statistics for 1968-2002, schools in the United States are becoming more racially and economically segregated. For example, the average white student in the 2001-2 school year would have attended a school where 79 percent of the students were white (Orfield & Lee, 2005, p. 7). Since this is the average, it is reasonable to assume that many white students may come to college with no or very limited experience with diversity.

As Malaney and Berger demonstrated, students who come to college with diversity experiences can make important contributions to the college environment. However, if the segregation continues at the rates documented by Orfield and Lee, many students will come to college unprepared for the increased diversity present on many college campuses. Malaney and Berger concluded their study by encouraging admissions officers to consider finding ways to identify students who are more engaged with diversity in the admissions process. If more students with pre-college readiness for social justice are admitted, "universities can develop student bodies that provide a more supportive psychological and behavioral climate for students of color" (p. 258).

To identify further patterns leading to ally development, Broido and Reason (2005) reviewed relevant literature. This literature showed that interaction with diverse peers is also important (Chang, 2001; Hurtado et al., 2002; Milem, 2003; Pike, 2000; Whitt et al., 2001). Participation in a diversity awareness workshop was also identified as a way to encourage social justice interest in many studies, (Hurtado et al., 2003; Springer et al., 1996; Whitt et al., 2001) although Henderson-King and Kaleta (2000) had contradictory findings in their research on the topic. Institutional characteristics, such as institutional support for diversity and students' level of openness (Whitt et al., 2001), were also identified as significant in having an effect on social justice outcomes for students. Broido and Reason (2005) concluded by encouraging universities to create campus environments that encourage the development of students into allies.

In addition to experiences, one's level of interest and readiness for social justice action is also highly influenced by the way s/he interprets and perceives her/his experiences. Reason and Davis (2005) investigated the development of social justice attitudes and actions. They found that several processes are related to social justice attitudes including: the social construction of identity, multiple identities and subjectivities, cognitive development, the emotional landscape and resistance to social justice education. The authors concluded by stressing the importance of student affairs professionals creating educational opportunities for dominant group members to learn and be encouraged to become allies, keeping in mind the cognitive development level of college students while developing these opportunities.

Related to how one interprets her/his experiences, the emotions s/he feels as these experiences are lived also influences her/his level of interest and readiness for social

justice action. Chizhik and Chizhik (2002) researched students' emotions toward social justice and how that influenced whether or not they will become involved in social change. The authors conclude "…that although guilt can be a source of resistance to multicultural discourse for more privileged teacher candidates, this emotion is important for teacher candidates to work toward social equity" (p. 296). Therefore, guilt can be a barrier to interest in social justice, but may also be a motivator people from privileged groups to take action or learn more.

Determining one's level of readiness for social justice advocacy can be helpful in understanding how to best encourage ally development in individuals. Chen-Hayes (2001) developed the Social Justice Advocacy Readiness Questionnaire (SJARQ). This self-assessment with 188 items and three parts

> Was designed as a way for educators, practitioners, and clients to begin or to continue dialogue attempting to ensure that all members of our community are part of the process of change in our organizations to promote competence, human rights, social justice advocacy, and challenge multiple oppressions. (p. 195)

Questions on the SJARQ address awareness of and experiences with different cultural groups. One section asks the taker to identify their level of comfort if s/he were the only person in a group comprised of people from a various backgrounds. Categories listed include Catholics, Union members, Prostitutes, Feminists, Ku Klux Klan members, Fat persons. Another section asks the taker to rate the level to which s/he agrees or disagrees with various beliefs, such as "African American women are strong and don't need counseling;" "It is easy for People of Color to achieve the American dream;" "All white people are racist;" and "The United States is a melting pot and always will be" (p. 197-198). The following section lists several activists, dates and organization and asks the taker to identify the cultural identities and their importance in social justice struggles.

Entities listed include Rigoberta Menchu, Audre Lorde, bell hooks, Benazir Bhutto, Shinto, and Sinn Fein. Next is a section of 30 open-ended questions that ask the taker to respond to, and explain different terms or phrases. The final section asks the taker eight questions in which s/he is prompted to "develop an action plan for change to promote greater social justice awareness, knowledge, and skills in your organization" (p. 201).

Although advocacy and ally work differ in significant ways, this self-assessment questionnaire can be a starting point in an ongoing process of encouraging social justice ally development. Another starting point in the ally development process is to recognize the role of oppression and to begin to take action against these forces.

The Cycle of Liberation. After developing the Cycle of Socialization, Harro (2000a) developed the Cycle of Liberation. This model can help explain different stages at which a person may be ready to engage in ally behavior. An illustration of this model is providing in Figure 5 below. The cycle begins with Waking Up when a person realizes that her/his understanding of experiences begins to change. This change can be the result of the accumulation of events and a process and/or a critical incident that leads to realization. Next,

> The getting ready phase is composed of dismantling our wrong or diminishing beliefs (stereotypes, ignorance, or misinformation), our discriminatory or privileged attitudes (superiority or inferiority), and behaviors that limit ourselves or others (collusion, oppressive language, or resignation). It also involves developing a consistency among what we believe, how we want to live our lives, and the way we actually do it. (p. 465)

Reaching Out is the next step and involves seeking out new information "in order to check our reality and to expose ourselves to a wider range of difference than we had before" (p. 466).

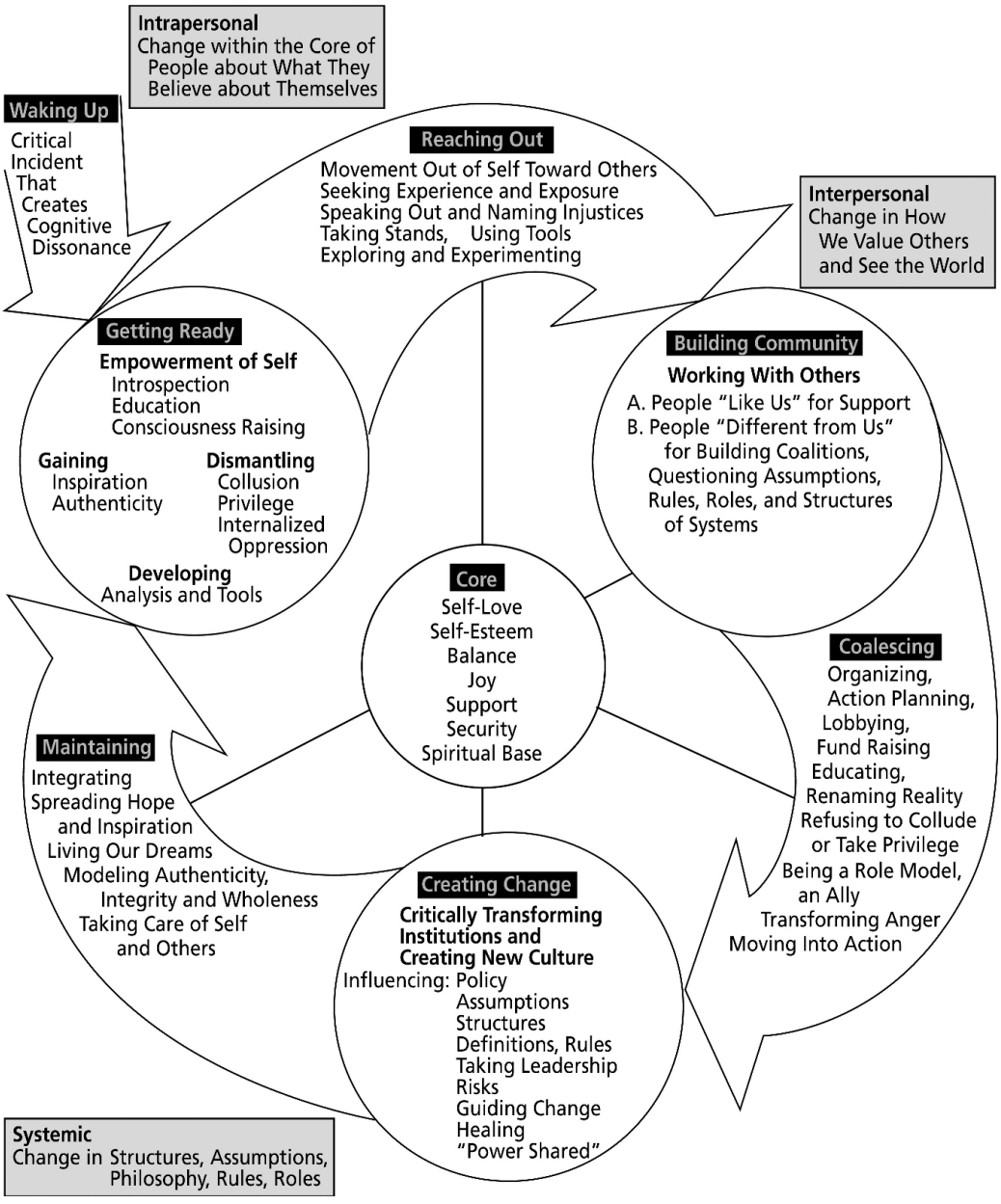


Figure 5 The Cycle of Liberation (Harro, 200b)

Source: Harro, B. (2000b). The cycle of liberation. In M. Adams, W. J. Blumenfeld, R. Castaneda, H. W. Hackman, M. L. Peters, and X. Zuniga (Eds.) *Readings for diversity and social justice* (pp. 463-469). New York: Routledge.

The next step, Building Community, involves reaching out to people that are the same as oneself and to people who are different to dialogue and gain understanding. Coalescing follows this, which is where action to interrupt oppression begins. In this step "we are refusing to accept privileges and we are acting as role models and allies for others…we begin to see evidence that, working together and organizing, we can make a difference" (p. 467). Creating Change is next, followed by Maintaining where "change needs to be strengthened, monitored, and integrated into the ritual of daily life" (p. 468). Similar to Harro's Cycle of Socialization, there is a core in the Cycle of Liberation that sustains the cycle. These factors are self-love, self-esteem, balance, joy, support, security, and spiritual base. This core helps the cycle continue. The Cycle of Liberation can help provide understanding of the processes that occur when a person previously uninvolved in social justice work begins to take actions against oppression.

Although the Cycle of Liberation is experienced individually, there are several steps in the cycle where support and/or information is needed in order to progress through the cycle to the next step. Because of their positions within universities, working in various areas of student services, student affairs professionals have the ability to connect with students personally outside of class. The resulting relationships formed with students allow student affairs professionals opportunities to affect the growth and development of students in many ways. This support can influence several areas of students' lives, but may also be an opportunity for student affairs professional to encourage the development of social justice allies.

Student Affairs Role in Developing Allies

As many of the previous articles discussed (Broido & Reason, 2005; Davis & Wagner, 2005; Edwards, 2006; Evans et al., 2005; Evans & Broido, 2005; Goodman, 2000; Reason & Davis, 2005; Tatum, 1994) student affairs professionals have an important role and opportunity to influence the development of students as allies. Reason et al. (2005) examined strategies for encouraging the development of racial justice allies, providing information to student affairs professionals about how to encourage ally attitudes and actions.

Information about how to encourage social justice ally development ranged from general to specific. Some of the more specific recommendations were provided by Reason and Broido (2005). Starting with ways to help students focus on self-understanding, the authors identified specific categories of ally actions that may be encouraged by professionals—inspiring and educating dominant group members; creating institutional and cultural change; and, supporting target group members. Reason and Broido also discussed difficulties and obstacles students may face and how student affairs professionals can support the student in overcoming these. Chickering (1998) discussed why it is important for student affairs professionals to encourage student activism (which may include ally work), even when it may seem to be disruptive to campus. Student affairs professionals are in a unique position to be able to encourage the growth and development of students. For students who are ready for and interested in social justice action, this encouragement may aid in the development of social justice allies who will help recognize and take a stand against various forms of oppression.

Although the literature is focused on student social justice allies, student affairs professionals may also be allies to students or other marginalized groups on campus. While student affairs professionals attempt to aid in the development of student social justice allies, Edwards (2006) provided an important reminder to student affairs professionals to be aware of their own actions and behaviors, while trying to encourage student social justice allies.

> Better understanding the motivations that may be underlying their aspiring ally identity may help student affairs professionals recognize their own counterproductive ally behaviors, such as paternalism or defensiveness, and be a tool to foster a more effective social justice ally. (p. 55)

The identity development of aspiring social justice allies framework (Edwards, 2006) was offered as a tool for student affairs professionals help encourage the development of student social justice allies. Although several authors provide information about the importance of student affairs professionals and actions they may take, there is little information from student social justice allies about what role, if any, student affairs professional have had in their ally development process. Learning more about this directly from social justice allies will allow student affairs professionals to be more effective in their support allies and their development.

The Influence of Gender

Although it is not addressed in the existing literature on social justice allies, it is important to consider how gender may influence an ally's development process, the ally's motivations for taking action against oppression and/or the type of activities s/he is involved in to influence change. Review of the foundational psychological, psychoanalytic and sociological theories related to gender (Chodorow, 1999; Gilligan, 1982) revealed that the development of women differs from the development of men in

significant ways. Further, review of the literature on women in social movements including the Student Christian Movement and Civil Rights documented the high level of involvement and significant contributions made by women that are often minimized in historical documentation of the events (Evans, S., 1979, 2003; Garland, 1988; Houck & Dixon, 2009). Analyzing the activism of women in past social movements provides a framework for investigating the actions against oppression made by the women in this study.

Foundational Theories

There is a significant amount of literature from the fields of psychology, sociology and many other fields that addresses the development of men and women and the various influences of gender. Although analyzing the influence of gender on the allies in this study is important, it is not a primary point of inquiry. Therefore, only two foundational works were reviewed-*In a Different Voice* (Gilligan, 1982) and *The Reproduction of Mothering* (1999). These two pieces were selected because of the significant contributions they have made on the understanding of gender development and the role of women in society. These pioneering works were foundational to later literature in the field.

Carol Gilligan (1982) explained that the differences between male and female voices relate to social factors which lead to biological differences translating into differences in social status and power to influence the experiences of males and females and how they relate to each other. She also pointed out "how accustomed we have become to seeing life through men's eyes…Psychological theorists have fallen...into the same observational bias. Implicitly adopting the male life as the norm" (p. 6). Gilligan

went on to critique the work of Freud and explained that in Freud's theory differences in women's development were identified as development failures by Freud. One of the major differences Freud identified as a failure in development was the tendency of women to be more influenced by their feelings or emotions, which affects the way women relate to others. Gilligan further highlighted the work of Chodorow, which offers an alternative interpretation of these differences than what was offered by Freud.

Gilligan also discusses the work of other theorists, including Kohlberg (1958, 1981) to show that "herein lies a paradox, for the very traits that traditionally have defined the 'goodness' of women, their care for and sensitivity to the needs of others, are those that mark them as deficient in moral development" (p. 18). Kohlberg's theory speaks to the importance of autonomy and individuation while women's moral development values care and concern, which could lead to a moral dilemma perceived to be about putting "selfish" concerns above consideration of the needs and desires of others. Gilligan's own work focused on analyzing these moral dilemmas when women have to work through decisions that involve competing needs and concerns. She found more about "how the opposition between selfishness and responsibility complicates for women the issue of choice, leaving them suspended between an ideal of selflessness and the truth of their own agency and needs" (p. 138). Further analysis of the moral reasoning used by women in Gilligan's study revealed

> Thus, morality, though seen as arising from the interplay between self and others, is reduced to an opposition between self and other, tied in the end to dependence on others and equated with responsibility to care for them. The moral ideal is not cooperation or interdependence but rather the fulfillment of an obligation, the repayment of debt, by giving to other without taking anything for oneself. (p. 139).

This sentiment results in a process where women tend to be concerned with others' needs which makes it difficult to be in control without feeling selfish and "hence morally dangerous" (p. 143). However, Gilligan also found that changes in women's rights also influence moral judgments which helps by "seasoning mercy with justice by enabling women to consider it moral to care not only for others but for themselves" (p. 149).

Nancy Chodorow's (1999) work further highlights the importance of women's concern for others as important in their development process. Chodorow's work, originally published in 1979, with a second edition in 1999, focuses on women's role as mothers and how this role is reproduced and passed on to each generation. However, this book also highlights important aspects of female development and the female psyche. Specifically, Chodorow finds that "women experience a sense of self-in-relation that is in contrast to men's creation of self that wishes to deny relation and connection" (p. viii). Throughout the development process Chodorow argues that mothers tend to see their daughters as like them and their sons as unlike them which affects the child's psyche and sense of self.

> Chief among the conscious outcomes of these processes are the ways in which many women feel intuitively connected to others, able to empathize, and embedded in or dependent upon relationships, on the one side, and on the other side, any men's counterphobically asserted independence and anxiety about intimacy if it signals dependence.

Chodorow documents the enduring qualities of the core of personality which she argues is established for most children around the age of three. In her critique of Freud's theories, Chodorow explains that during the early stages girls develop a basis for empathy in their definition of self, which differs from the development of boys. This aspect which

Freud would identify as women have weaker ego boundaries or more prone to psychosis, is reinterpreted as a difference in gender by Chodorow. The differences articulated between males and females relate to understanding of masculine versus feminine traits. Because of the connection to their mother, it is important in the male identity to separate themselves from their mother in order to develop traits identified as masculine. Further, the male gender identity is focused on individuation and it is important to avoid intimacy, while the female gender identity is related to connections with others. This results in a dynamic where males tend to have difficulty forming relationships, while females have more difficulty being autonomous.

The contributions and concepts provided by Gilligan and Chodorow are important to consider in relation to the development, motivations and actions of students identified as allies by their peers. Using this gendered lens and framework to analyze the allies may help identify differences and patterns unique to female and male allies.

Women's Role in Social Movements

In addition to considering the theoretical perspectives related to women, it is also helpful to consider the ways women have acted as activists and made important contributions to social movements in the past.

Houck and Dixon (2009) investigated the role of women in the Civil Rights Movement from 1954-1965. They found that women's active participation in the movement far outnumbered the men, with women being three to four times more likely to be involved. One theory provided for the "over-participation" of women was that the threat of violence was more serious for men than women. Participation in the Civil Right Movement had "particular appeal for educated, progressive, typically middle-class, and

religiously affiliated white southern women. Lynching in particular and criminal justice in general were racial issues around which such groups could organize" (p. xvii). Although there were high levels of involvement, the work of women is relatively invisible in the images and scholarship related to the movement. The most common images seen and documented from the movement were speeches, almost always presented by men, and demonstrations, usually led by men. However, "the everyday maintenance of the movement, women's work, overwhelmingly, is effectively devalued, sinking beneath the level of our sight" (p. xviii).

Sarah Evans (1979) also researched women in the Civil Rights Movement and how this relates to women's liberation and the "new left". Evans chronicles women's roles throughout the 1950s and into the 1960s as primarily domestic labor in the home. Although dissatisfaction with this role increased, very few women who were in these traditional roles were challenging the system that relegated them to unchallenging work in the private realm. However, young women began speaking out and organizing, in part because they did not have to risk their marriage or financial security to take action. They were also removed from being in this role, which meant they did not feel the need to justify the traditional role of women.

> For them [the young women who critiqued the role of women in American society], a particular set of experiences in the south civil rights movement and parts of the student new left catalyzed a new feminist consciousness. There they found the inner strength and self-respect to explore the meaning of equality and an ideology that beckoned them to do so. There they also met the same contradictory treatment most American women experienced, and it spun them out of those movements into one of their own. (p. 23).

As young women leading the women's liberation movement, the methods used to affect change also shifted. Many young women naturally shared their personal experiences which soon became a political instrument called "consciousness-raising." This method

helped develop theory and build momentum. Sharing personal experiences also led to the creation of several networks and groups established to allow women to share their stories. In these groups "hundreds of thousands of women transformed their perceptions of personal inadequacy into a political analysis of women's oppression" (p. 222). As a result, "in the 1970s, thousands of women have become politicized first through the awareness of their own oppression" (Evans, S., 1979, p. 232).

Sara Evans (2003) also highlighted the role of women in evangelical reform and other Christian and social justice movements. Through her personal experiences and talking with others who were active in these movements,

> Ultimately we came to believe that these stories teach important lessons about how a confluence of factors—family background, actions of religious institutions, political and social events in the broader society—combine to forge women leaders. It is time to break the cycle of silence that prevents new generations of women from learning and building on accomplishment as well as the frustrations and mistakes of those who preceded them.

Evans' summary of the importance of these stories demonstrates why it is important to consider the past when analyzing what the allies in this study have experienced.

Garland (1988) also offers important lessons about women activists. The women highlighted by Garland talk about how their experience as women influenced their perspective and what it means to be involved in political action as a woman. They offer insight into how their activism informs who they are as women and inform their ideas of justice and quality. Through the stories of these activists, Garland identified one motivating factors for action for many women activists—anger. Garland also discusses the process that many women followed which closely resembles the Cycle of Liberation proposed by Harro (2000b). According to Garland the women identified the problem and its causes, talked and listened to become educated on the issue, became experts and

established credibility, realized the systemic influences affecting the problem which often led to disillusionment with government and other institutions, and made connections and created coalitions. Many of these steps identified by Garland are also highlighted in the Cycle of Liberation. Garland's work is also tied to Houck and Dixon in documenting that "whatever the issue, wherever the battlefield, it is agreed that women are at the center of movements for change" (p. xxvi). Garland also relates to the work of Chodorow by pointing out that "many of the women activists are mothers, and many of them link together nurturance-activism-feminism…the ability of these women to make connections between their families, their communities, and the world outside is a strength" (p. xxii). This again highlights how women's ability to nurture and make connections with others is related to their work as allies.

Although this literature did not focus specifically on social justice allies, the concepts are important to apply to this study. The differences in the development of women, as well as how women have taken action as oppression in the past and the lessons learned from these experiences are all important to consider when analyzing the experiences of social justice allies.

Conclusion

The literature on social justice ally development and related topics validates the complexity of the ally development process. There are several barriers to ally development, as discussed above, which must be overcome in order for someone to aspire to be a social justice ally. On the other hand, there are also several motivators that encourage the development and related benefits for those who choose the difficult path of becoming an ally and fighting oppression.

The existing research illuminates important aspects of the social justice ally development process. However, there are several gaps and the need for expansion in many areas. First, more research is needed on social justice ally development. The only existing research is based on analysis of six students at one institution with limited generalizability. Second, there is no existing research that analyzes the influence of institutional characteristics on social justice ally development. The literature discussed above underscores the importance of institutional mission and diversity of the student body in influencing student outcomes. Therefore, the institutional context must be considered in any study of social justice ally development. Third, the importance of student affairs professionals is discussed in previous research, but to date there is no analysis of their role in or influence on the social justice ally development process. Fourth, the literature on social justice allies focuses on allies acting against heterosexism and sexism. It is important to find out more about the development of allies focused on other areas of privilege/oppression. Also, Tatum (1994, 1997) and Chizhik and Chizhik (2005) stressed the importance of white students having positive white role models. However, there is no research analyzing whether or not students who became social justice allies had such role models. Finally, although the development and socialization of men and women differ in significant ways (Chodorow, 1999; Gilligan, 1982) and the role of women activists in past social movements differed from men (Evans, S., 1979, 2003; Garland, 1988; Houck & Dixon, 2009), the influence of gender on ally development, motivations and actions has not been considered to date.

Thus, it is imperative to find out more about the experiences and development of students who become social justice allies during college, particularly in large institutions.

Learning more about the formative and college experiences of student social justice allies will lead to information which can be used to encourage the development of more student allies. Given the civic mission of higher education, universities should search for more innovative ways to help students develop into productive members of society. Emerging social justice allies will help speak out against oppression, injustice and marginalization within society, making college campuses and beyond more inclusive to all people.

The University of Texas at Austin was an ideal site for this research project. As the flagship public institution in the state of Texas, the university has implemented several programs over the past 10 years in an effort to increase the representation of students and faculty of color. It also established the Division of Diversity and Community Engagement. Under vice presidential leadership, this division has led the university's efforts in increasing inclusivity and awareness of social justice on campus. While progress has been made, the student body and faculty are still predominately white and reminders of a history that includes segregation and discrimination remain. The campus is still adorned with confederate soldiers, although statues of Martin Luther King, Jr., César Chávez and Barbara Jordan have recently been installed in response to student pressure to have statues on campus that are more representative of the diversity present on campus. One of the residence halls on campus, formerly known as Simkins Hall, opened in 1955, was named after a former UT professor who was once a leader within the KKK, while another, Almetris Duren Hall, opened in 2007, is named after a former UT staff member who supported African American students during the campus' integration and beyond. The hall formerly known as Simkins was renamed in July 2010 and is now known at Creekside Residence Hall. The name change was in response to

student and public pressure and the decision to change the name was made after campus forums and was guided by the input of the committee comprised of several stakeholders. This institutional context will allow for a deep level of analysis when examining how students experience and make meaning of this dynamic college environment while developing the skills necessary to become an ally.

In this chapter, research related to the civic mission of higher education and how this relates to diversity was reviewed. The student outcomes associated with diversity, as well as factors influencing a student's openness to diversity documented by research were also discussed. Next, literature on student identity development and related theories including the Cycle of Socialization (Harro, 2000a) was examined. Specific models and theories on racial identity development and white identity development in particular were reviewed. Further, research on educational experiences, including participation in a diversity course/workshop, participation in service-learning and co-curricular activities and interactions, were reviewed with an emphasis on how these activities are related to a student's level of diversity awareness. After these foundational topics were explored, the focus of this study—social justice allies—was examined in depth. This included reviewing literature on the related topics of ally development models, development of allies with privilege, factors related to social justice interest and readiness, and the role of student affairs professionals in developing allies. Literature related to the development of women and the role of women activists in past social movements was also reviewed. As discussed, the review identified the complexities of the ally development process, in addition to gaps in the research. This research project was designed to address some of the gaps identified.

This study was conducted using a qualitative, phenomenological approach. This method allowed for the thick description necessary for understanding the experiences and development of students who become social justice allies. Relying on peer recommendations to identify social justice ally insured that the participants were active allies who have taken recognizable action against oppression. The allies identified were given a pre-interview questionnaire and interviewed twice. The data from the interviews and questionnaire was then coded using a preliminary scheme developed from the themes in this literature review and built upon using a grounded theory approach.

Chapter 3: Methodology

Introduction

The purpose of this study is to identify what formative and college experiences contribute to students becoming social justice allies. The literature review revealed several factors that may contribute to the development of a social justice ally. These factors, as well as other identified by using a semi-grounded theory approach, were examined as influences on the development of students who become social justice allies. This chapter describes how this inquiry was conducted.

Research Questions

1. What are the formative experiences of students identified by their peers as social justice allies at The University of Texas at Austin?
2. How do University of Texas at Austin students identified by their peers as social justice allies make meaning of their backgrounds in relation to their ally work?
3. What are the college experiences at The University of Texas at Austin of students recognized as social justice allies that they identify as important in their development? What experiences do these students identify as being detrimental to their development?
4. What role, *if any*, do student affairs professionals play in the development of students identified as social justice allies at The University of Texas at Austin?

Research Design

This study was conducted using qualitative methods. Patton (2002) outlines three conditions when qualitative research is appropriate. These include the preferences of the intended audience, when quantitative methods for analyzing the topic are not available or possible, and to add depth to a study. All three of these conditions apply to this study. The likely audience for this inquiry is higher education scholars and students with an interest in social justice. The majority of existing research that examined social justice related topics was conducted using qualitative methods. Further, there are no valid, reliable, or appropriate quantitative methods available to examine the subject of this study. Finally, understanding the backgrounds and developmental experiences of students requires a deep analysis not possible using quantitative methods.

The specific approach used was a phenomenological investigation. As Mertens (2005) explained:

> The key characteristic of phenomenology is the study of the way in which members of a group or community themselves interpret the world and life around them. The research does not make assumptions about an objective reality that exists apart from the individual. Rather, the focus is on understanding how individuals create and understand their own life spaces. (p. 240)

Students who become social justice allies are in the best position to describe how they became active allies. Since each person's path to ally work is different, a phenomenological investigation best captured these stories and experiences.

Site Context

This research was conducted at The University of Texas at Austin (UT-Austin), a large, public, research university with very high research activity (RU/VH) (Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 2009). UT-Austin was founded in 1883

and awards about 12,000 degrees annually (The University of Texas at Austin, 2008). There are 2,500 faculty and 14,000 staff members. In the Fall of 2008[3] the total enrollment was 49,984 students, with 11,344 graduate and 37,389 undergraduate students (The University of Texas at Austin, 2009). The University is located in Austin, the state capital, a relatively large city with a population of nearly 800,000 within a metropolitan area of 1.6 million people. In addition to UT-Austin, Austin is home to several technology related businesses. Richard Florida (2002) developed a measure he called the "Creativity Index" based on the creative share of the workforce, high tech industry, innovation (based on patents per capita), and diversity (measured based on an area's openness to different kinds of ideas and people). Based on Florida's Creativity Index, Austin is ranked 2nd in the US, just behind San Francisco. This high level of creativity in Austin, particularity as it relates to openness to different kinds of ideas and people may contribute to Austin being an environment ideal for the emergence of student social justice allies.

UT-Austin has an historical and present context that contributed to its appropriateness for this study. Historically, several foundational legal cases related to race and college admissions have involved the University, most notably *Sweatt v. Painter*, 339 U.S. 629 (1950) and *Hopwood v. Texas,* 78 F.3d 932 (5th Cir. 1996). *Sweatt v. Painter* challenged the "separate but equal" clause established by *Plessy v. Ferguson*, 163 U.S. 537 (1896). It was determined in this case that the law school established for Black students was not equal to the University of Texas Law School, which Sweatt had sought admission to and been denied.

[3] Data from Fall 2008 was used because it was the most recent *complete* data set available at the time of publication. Some figures for Fall 2009 and Fall 2010 were available, but not all.

Hopwood v. Texas prohibited the consideration of race in college admission decisions in the state of Texas. In an effort to still provide opportunity for underrepresented groups of students in the state's public universities, the Texas legislature passed Texas House Bill 588. Passed in 1997, this law established what is now referred to as the "Top 10% Rule." Under this law any resident of the state of Texas who graduates within the top 10% of her/his high school class is automatically admitted into the public university of her/his choice (The University of Texas at Austin, September 2006). A large number of students who are eligible for admission under this law choose to attend UT-Austin.

Since the passing of Texas House Bill 588, the application, admission and enrollment rates of historically underrepresented groups has increased. Appendix H provides detailed demographics of the applicant pool, admitted class, and enrollment figures for 1998-2008. Review of this data reveals that applications from African American students increased from 4 percent of the total applicant pool in 1998 to 8 percent of the pool in 2008. Admission and enrollment rates for African Americans also increased from 3 percent to 6 percent of the total admitted/enrolled class during this same period (1998-2008). There was also a significant increase in percentage of Hispanic applicants, from 14 percent of the total pool in 1998, to 21 percent in 2008. The admission rate for Hispanic students increased from 14 percent to 20 percent of the total amount of students admitted, while the number of Hispanic students enrolled increased from 13 percent of the total enrollment to 20 percent. The percentage of applications from Asian Americans did not significantly increase during this period. There was a modest increase in the percentage of Asian American admitted, from 16 percent in 1998

to 18 percent in 2008. The percentage of Asian American students who enrolled also slightly increased from 17 percent in 1998 to 19 percent in 2008 (The University of Texas at Austin, Office of Admissions, 2008). This data indicates an overall trend of increased diversity since the implementation of Texas House Bill 588.

In addition to demographic changes, Long, Saenz and Tienda (n.d.) conducted an analysis of the effects of the Top 10% Rule on access to higher education. The researchers used student data from UT-Austin, Texas A&M University and the Texas Higher Education Opportunity project, in addition to high school data from the U.S. Department of Education Common Core of data. The researchers examined the number of students who attended UT-Austin since Texas House Bill 588 was implemented. By comparing the number of students who enrolled at UT-Austin and their feeder high school characteristics (such as location-urban, suburban, rural, etc; racial composition; and rate of free or reduced price lunch participation), they concluded that since Top 10% was implemented the representation of students from high schools with traditionally lower rates for enrollment at UT-Austin had increased (Long et al., n.d.). Therefore, since the Top 10% rule was implemented, the application, admission, and enrollment rates for historically under-represented groups (in terms of race/ethnicity and high school attended) have increased.

In addition to increased representation, the number of students of all race/ethnicities admitted through the Top 10% has also significantly increased. In 1998 when the policy was implemented 41 percent of the freshmen class was automatically admitted. In 2008, 81% of the class was admitted through the Top 10% rule (Long et al., n.d.). Another noticeable trend is that higher percentages of students of color are

automatically admitted, as compared to the percentage of white students. In 2008, 67% of the white students admitted were automatically admitted, while 80% of African Americans, 76% of Asian Americans and 85% of Hispanic students were admitted under top 10% (The University of Texas at Austin, Office of Admissions, 2008).

With increasing numbers of students being admitted under the Top 10% Rule, UT-Austin administrators were concerned that this was limiting the University from admitting students with more diverse backgrounds because very few students were able to be admitted under holistic review (which allows consideration of factors other than class ranking). For the entering class for Fall 2008, over 76 percent of students admitted were admitted through automatic admission (The University of Texas at Austin, 2008, December). If only students eligible for automatic admission (Texas residents with a high school ranking) are considered, 81 percent of the entering class for Fall 2008 were admitted using automatic admission. This meant that relatively few seats in the entering class were able to be filled by students selected through holistic review which allows for consideration of factors related to diversity and experiences, in addition to academic factors such as high school class rank and Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) score. A profile of the class that entered UT-Austin in Fall 2008 including the percentage of students admitted through automatic admission versus holistic review for several factors (including family income, SAT score, and race/ethnicity) is provided in Appendix I.

In May 2009 the State of Texas passed a law that allowed UT-Austin to cap the number of students automatically admitted under the "Top 10% Rule" to 75 percent of the entering freshmen class beginning in Fall 2011. The University sought to have the cap set at 50 percent, but this was not approved by legislature. This new law means that the

top 1%, top 2%, top 3% as so on will be admitted until 75% of the entering class has been admitted using high school class ranking only. The remaining 25% of students for the entering class will be admitted using holistic review. This new law only applies to UT-Austin, and not other public universities in Texas. As the "flagship" institution in the state, UT-Austin was more challenged by this law than other schools (Haurwitz, 2009). Although the participants in this study will not be affected by the changes in this rule, the discussions about the law and potential changes brought about significant amounts of discussion about diversity, equity, and access at UT-Austin. This discourse allowed the participants in this study to reflect on the benefits of diversity they experienced and how changes in the "top 10% rule" may increase or decrease diversity on campus.

In addition to being successful in high school (as measured by high school class ranking), the majority of UT-Austin students also performed well on the Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT). The average combined SAT score for students entering in the Fall of 2008 was 1831 (The University of Texas at Austin, n.d., p. 3). Students continue to perform well academically while at UT-Austin. The average grade point average for all undergraduate students as of the Fall 2008 semester was 3.10 on a 4.0 scale (The University of Texas at Austin, n.d., p. 4).

Demographically, the student body is predominately white, but relatively diverse. For Fall 2008, the student body was 0.4 percent American Indian, 4.4 percent African American, 15.9 percent Hispanic, 15.1 percent Asian American, 9.1% Foreign, 0.7% unknown, and 54.5 percent white. There are slightly more female than male students (51.1 percent versus 48.9 percent, respectively). A large majority of students are from Texas (80.6%), with 10.3% from out-of-state, and 9.1% from other countries. (The

University of Texas at Austin, n.d., p. 1)

Student perceptions. The Way of the Horns Steering Committee at UT-Austin was formed in response to concerns about incidents involving students that "challenged the institution's core values. A few of these events include, but are not limited to, student athlete misdemeanors, 'blackface' parties, fatal hazing incidents" (The Way of the Horns Steering Committee, n.d., p. 5). This student–led initiative, with support from the Office of the President, explored the UT-Austin, or Longhorn (the University's mascot and sports team name), campus culture. In order to better understand student perceptions related to various topics, the Steering Committee, with help from the UT-Austin Division of Institutional Innovation and Assessment, developed five surveys, each designed to explore a different aspect of Longhorn culture. Of interest to this study was the survey focused on social justice. The social justice survey was distributed to nearly 7,000 randomly selected students via email in April 2008. Students who received the email had one week to respond. The response rate for this survey was 10.5 percent and the sample was "generally representative of the University" (The Way of the Longhorns Steering Committee, n.d., p. 30).

Eighty-two percent of respondents indicated that they felt that UT-Austin is diverse. However, only 63 percent of Black respondents agreed with this statement. This indicates that under-represented groups have a different perception of diversity on campus than other students. While the majority of students responded positively towards questions about diversity, more than 70 percent also indicated that they feel stereotyping is common on campus. Sixty-five percent of respondents felt that they had been stereotyped in the past year, while 70 percent admitted to stereotyping others in the same

time period. Even more troubling, 35 percent of respondents indicated that prejudice is common on campus and 41 percent indicated that they had been "negatively evaluated by others on campus in the past year based on preconceived conceptions about their group" (The Way of the Longhorns Steering Committee, n.d., p. 32). Based on survey responses, segregation is also perceived to be a problem by many students. Of those who responded, 70 percent believed that cultural groups segregate themselves, while 41 percent felt segregated from other cultures on campus (The Way of the Longhorns Steering Committee, n.d.). Therefore, although diversity is present on campus, some students do not seem to benefiting from this.

Considering these student perceptions contributes to the reasons why UT-Austin was selected for the site of this research. These responses reaffirm a campus culture where diversity is present and visible, but not necessarily valued or experienced by all students. In this type of environment, students who are aspiring to become allies have ample opportunity to observe, learn and take action.

Participant Selection

The participant selection methods used were modeled after a process used by Reddick (2007) in his study of mentors for African American students. Reddick's methods relied on the recommendation of mentors from students that met specific criteria. This technique is also well-suited for this study because it is important to identify students who are seen as allies by their peers. The defining characteristic of an ally is that s/he is a member of one or more agent group and has taken action against oppression. Her/his peers are in the best position to observe and report on this action. Because of the importance of the actions affecting and being visible to others, students who self-identify

as allies were not included, unless they were also recommended by peers. In order to find students who had taken action as allies, UT-Austin students were asked to identify undergraduate students who have taken action against forms of oppression. Examples of action may include speaking up when offensive comments/jokes are made; involvement in political action; using one's influence to make sure the perspectives of underrepresented students are considered in decision-making processes; or consistent use of inclusive language and using situations when non-inclusive language is used as an opportunity to educate peers.

Recruitment and Selection

After identifying potential participants using the survey detailed below, an email was sent to each student identified as an ally to explain the study and request their participation. A sample of the e-mail sent is provided in Appendix B. Once responses to this email were received, participants were selected using a purposive sampling technique. Efforts were made to try to include allies who work against different forms of oppression (racism, sexism, classism, heterosexism, and ableism), with a goal of having at least 2 allies for each type of oppression with a total of 12-15 participants. The ideal sample would have been comprised of equal numbers of males and females. Out of the 27 students identified as allies by their peers and contacted to participate the study, a total of 16 students responded and 10 agreed to and followed-through on participating in the study. Four of the six students who responded, but did not participate, indicated that although they were interested in the study they were too busy with classes and/or other responsibilities. The other two students who responded also indicated interest in the study, but did not respond to follow-up emails to schedule a date and time to meet. There

were no incentives offered for participation, other than the opportunity to reflect on their experiences and development. An overview of the participants and profile of each is provided in Chapter 4.

Survey

The survey used to collect information about potential participants is provided in Appendix C. The survey provided definitions of terms, criteria for who should fill out the survey, and a statement about confidentiality. This survey was distributed to students through student organizations and listservs. The use of a survey allowed students to identify peers who they have witnessed taking actions as allies. Because a survey can be more widely distributed than other recruitment selection methods (such as personal invitation or snow-balling), this helped in the identification of allies working against various forms of oppression in different areas of the university and allies with diverse experiences and backgrounds. The information provided on the survey about the actions of the identified allies was also be used to triangulate the data provided by participants during interviews.

Data Collection

Similar to the participant selection methods, the data collection techniques used were modeled after a process used by Reddick (2007) in his study of mentors of African American students. Reddick's methods were adapted from interviewing methods developed by Seidman (1998). In his study, Reddick had all participants complete a pre-interview questionnaire, which provided baseline data. He then conducted two interviews with each participant. The first interview allowed him to start developing rapport with the participant and focused on formative experiences and experiences dealing with "markers

of difference" (p. 59). The second interview served as a follow-up to the first interview and focused on the participants' experiences as a mentor for African American undergraduate students (Reddick, 2007).

Human Subjects Approval

After getting approval to conduct this research from my committee, I submitted documents about this study to the Institutional Research Board for approval. These documents included an Informed Consent Form that was reviewed with and signed by participants. Survey respondents were not required to sign an informed consent form, but the survey included a cover letter explaining all of the consent elements. The document also explained that participation in the survey indicated consent for participation in this study. A copy of this form and cover letter is provided in Appendix D.

Pre-Interview Questionnaire

The selected participants received an email thanking them for agreeing to participate and asking them to identify a time and place convenient for them for our first meeting. At the beginning of this meeting we covered the informed consent form and then they were asked to fill out a brief pre-interview questionnaire. This questionnaire included selected questions from the National Survey on Student Engagement (NSSE). Although the sample in this study will not be large enough to test statistically significant differences between the NSSE data and data from the participants of this study, the questions from NSSE have been psychometrically tested and have been validated and held to be reliable, based on a variety of measures. The questions have also been tested to verify that students understand them as intended (Kuh, 2003). Responses to the questionnaire provided basic demographic information, as well as information about the

frequency in which the student participated in specific diversity-related activities, and their views on how college has contributed to their development in several areas. The pre-interview questionnaire that was used is provided in Appendix E.

Interviews

After receiving the completed informed consent forms and pre-interview questionnaire from each participant, we began the first interview. This interview was designed to explore formative experiences, as well as the students' understanding of privilege and oppression. The interview protocol for the first interview is provided in Appendix F. At the end of the first interview, I scheduled the second interview with each participant. The second interviews were conducted one to two weeks after the first interview. The second interview was designed to explore in college experiences and development, including the role of student affairs professionals, if any. The protocol for the second interview is provided in Appendix G. The interview protocols were tested with non-participant students before the study was conducted to insure that the questions were understandable and elicited response on topics the questions were targeting.

While conducting the interviews, I paid special attention to social identities of the participants, particularly when these were different than my own. Seidman (1998) provided suggestions for reducing the influence of differences in social identities between the interviewer and participant based on race and ethnicity, gender, class, hierarchy, and status, linguistic differences, and age. These recommendations were reviewed before interviews to create settings that were as comfortable and open as possible.

Data Analysis

After each interview was completed, I wrote analytic notes about my general

impressions from the interview. I also reviewed the recording of the interview to see if there were any issues to be clarified with the participant. Next, I transcribed each interview verbatim. The analysis process was guided by the recommendations of Seidman (1998). Seidman (1998) explained "the researcher must come to the transcripts with an open attitude, seeking what emerges as important of interest from the test…The interviewer must come to the transcript prepared to let the interview breathe and speak for itself" (p. 100). Seidman provided two methods for presenting interview data. The first is by creating profiles of each participant and grouping these profiles into appropriate categories. The second is to group passages from the interviews into categories to identify themes. Both of these methods were used in analyzing the data.

Coding

A preliminary coding scheme was created using the characteristics from the literature that could potentially contribute to social justice ally development. A template for this coding scheme is provided in Appendix J. Through further analysis using a semi-grounded theory approach, codes not present in the literature were added to the coding scheme. This coding scheme is similar to the grounded theory analysis strategy proposed by Strauss and Corbin (1990). This method involves three interrelated steps—open coding, axial coding and selective coding.

Coding was done several times to insure accuracy and consistency and to limit potential researcher bias. I coded the data myself, conducting several reviews of each interview. I also enlisted the help of a second coder with experience in qualitative research. The result of the coding was consistent, so there was no need for a third coder. Using an additional coder reduced the possibility of researcher bias influencing data

analysis. It also increased consistency and dependability.

Coding Software. The software program Atlas.ti was used to help provide organization and efficiency in the coding process. Atlas.ti allows the user to code passages electronically and organize data according to each code, or combination of codes. This technology was used to increase efficiency and accuracy and help with identifying themes from the data.

Triangulation

The information provided on the survey completed by students identifying allies (Appendix C) was used to verify the information provided by participants in the interviews. Information was further verified by the use of the pre-interview questionnaire and two interviews. If a student identified actions that could be verified in other ways, for example, writing an article in a newspaper or serving in a student organization related to social justice, then these actions will be triangulated through the use of document review. Sources of verification were student organization websites and student publications.

Limitations

While qualitative research with a phenomenological approach allows for a deep analysis not possible with other methodologies, qualitative research also has some limitations. First, this type of study has limited generalizability because the data and analysis is based on a particular context. The reader of the study will be able to determine the level of similarity or difference between the participants and setting and where the reader would like to apply the findings. The thick descriptions provided through the data analysis allow readers to fully consider the context and participant's understanding of her/his process of developing skills to become an ally. Further, because the data analysis

is based on interpretation, there is more potential for researcher influence. However, use of a second coder helped limit this bias.

Additional limitations were reduced through the use of dependability and confirmability audits, as suggested by Mertens (2005). A dependability audit verifies that the research design was followed as described. There were no changes made to the original research design. A confirmability audit involves another researcher or peer reviewing notes, transcripts and other data to verify that the researcher's conclusions are supported by the data. This audit confirms that "qualitative data can be tracked to its source and the logic that is used to interpret the data should be made explicit" (Mertens, 2005, p. 257). These audits serve to decrease the effects of the limitations of the qualitative, phenomenological approach. The second coder for this study also completed a confirmability audit and confirmed that the conclusions made during data analysis are reasonable.

Summary

This chapter provided a description of how this inquiry into the development and experiences of social justice allies was conducted. The site for this research is The University of Texas at Austin, which is appropriate because of the unique historical and current context of issues related to race in college admissions that have been negotiated with UT-Austin at the center of the issue. UT-Austin is also one of the largest universities in the United States and provides a rich institutional context to analyze. The university has implemented several initiatives over the past 10 years including the implementation of the Division of Diversity and Community Engagement under vice presidential leadership and the establishment of the Gender and Sexuality Center. The availability and

presence of these resources for students allowed me to examine if these efforts have influenced students' development as allies and aspiring allies.

This study used a phenomenological, qualitative approach. Potential participants in this study were identified through the use of a survey completed by students at UT Austin. Participants were selected using purposive sampling techniques. All participants completed a pre-interview questionnaire and two interviews. Data was analyzed using a coding scheme based on themes from the literature and grounded theory. Several techniques to reduce the influence of potential bias and limitations were used. The data was triangulated using multiple sources of information. The design, analysis and methods were selected using a model developed by Reddick (2007) on faculty mentors of African American students. This model, informed by Seidman (1998) was adjusted using recommendations and information from Patton (2002) and Mertens (2005).

Using the methods described in this chapter, this study was conducted during the Spring 2010 semester, with data analysis completed in Summer and Fall 2010. The data collected was analyzed using the techniques described. The outcomes of this data analysis will be described in the following chapters.

Chapter 4: From Personal to Public-Ally Stories

Introduction

Before telling each individual's story it is important to emphasize that these students have developed the wisdom to recognize the systemic nature of oppression and the compassion to care enough to take difficult and courageous actions to affect change. Becoming an ally is a complex process that many students and others choose not to pursue.

> Allies must find a precarious balance between knowing when to take a seat at the table of social justice advocacy, joining those who are oppressed at combating oppression; when to speak up; when to be silent in order to listen to the experiences of others; and when to leave the table altogether, so as not to infringe on or usurp the role of target group members in advocating for their own liberation. (Reason & Broido, 2005, p. 88)

While it is a complex journey, the diverse backgrounds of the allies in this study shows that there are various experiences that contribute to students choosing pathways towards becoming a social justice ally. This chapter highlights the uniqueness of each ally's story. Chapter 5 will present the common themes in the ally stories and demonstrate the similarities that link these allies together, as well as discuss how their accounts differ.

Participant Overview

This study is based on ten students identified as social justice allies by their peers who each completed a pre-interview questionnaire and two individual interviews. The pre-interview questionnaire (instrument provided in Appendix E) asked participants to self-identify several demographic characteristics including gender (female, male, transgender, intersexual), race/ethnicity, classification (first year, sophomore, etc), student organization participation, major and anticipated graduation date. Table 1 provides a summary of the demographic factors. Of the ten participants three identified

as male and seven as female. Four participants identified as white (non-Hispanic), one as Asian, Asian American, or Pacific Islander, two as Black or African-American, one as Hispanic or Latino, and two as Mexican or Mexican American. Seven of the ten participants were classified as seniors at the time of the interviews; two were juniors; and one was a sophomore at the time. The participants had a variety of majors. They were also involved in a variety of student organizations. Specific organization names have not been identified to protect the anonymity of the participants. The names used in this table and throughout the following chapters are pseudonyms used to further protect the participants' anonymity.

Participant Profiles

The following profiles focus on the pre-college experiences of the participants. Each story provides a summary and focuses on what the participant highlighted as influential in their experiences before college. Each profile also contains information on the ally's classification and college of study; work or volunteer experience discussed; the educational attainment of their parents; and a description of the neighborhood(s) they lived in and schools they attended before coming to college. As these profiles demonstrate, the pre-college experiences of the allies are extremely diverse and important in understanding their individual stories. It is important to acknowledge the risk these students took in sharing their very personal experiences. The participants' college experiences will be further discussed in Chapter 5. Although the college experiences are also different, there are more similarities in their journeys that led to them taking action again oppression. Therefore, these experiences will be discussed collectively because of

how they relate and show the commonalities that contribute to ally development in college.

Table 1

Participant Overview

Ally Name	Focus of ally actions	Gender	Race/Ethnicity	Classification	College
Matthew	Ableism	Male	White (non-Hispanic)	Senior	Liberal Arts
Thierry	Awareness of privilege/social justice	Male	Black or African American	Senior	Communication
Tam	Classism and Heterosexism	Female	Asian, Asian American, or Pacific Islander	Sophomore	Natural Sciences
Sanaa	Classism and awareness of privilege/social justice	Female	Black or African American	Senior	Education
Liz	Equity for all	Female	White (non-Hispanic)	Senior	Social Work
Audrey	Heterosexism and Sexism	Female	White (non-Hispanic)	Junior	Liberal Arts
Vanessa	Heterosexism	Female	Mexican or Mexican American	Senior	Liberal Arts
Fernando	Sexism/Violence against women	Male	Hispanic or Latino	Senior	Engineering
Kiersten	Sexism/African American Women	Female	White (non-Hispanic)	Senior	Liberal Arts
Adriana	Undocumented residents and students	Female	Mexican or Mexican American	Junior	Liberal Arts

Matthew

Matthew is a senior in the College of Liberal Arts. He is involved in several student organizations focused on leadership and disability awareness. Matthew also held a leadership position within the student body at the time of the interview. His parents both completed doctoral degrees. He grew up in a suburb of a large city in Texas and attended private, religiously-affiliated schools until he came to UT-Austin. Matthew has one younger sister and his parents divorced when he was 7, but remained friends and both parents were a part of his life. The schools Matthew attended were not very diverse based on race/ethnicity, but there was socioeconomic diversity because of the high number of students that received financial aid. Matthew explained, "You had the very rich kids and you had very poor kids because [the high school] was all about academics." During high school Matthew was very involved in sports and also got involved in an organization that promoted disability awareness.

Although Matthew identifies as white, his mother is Peruvian and he finds that his Latin family has an influence on him. Matthew does not like to admit it, but his father frequently stereotyped people when he was growing up and told jokes that reinforced these stereotypes. One of the struggles Matthew and his family have dealt with is related to finances. Matthew's family did not have adequate funds to pay for many things growing up. His family's financial difficulty got worse when his father got very sick and was unable to work. Seeing his father go from a healthy, active person to being reliant on others for everything had an affect on Matthew and his efforts to increase awareness of disabilities. Matthew was already involved in these efforts, but this contributed to his understanding and concern about taking action against ableism. Matthew's ally actions include raising awareness about all forms of disabilities, establishing a company that

offers pedestrian navigation for people with disabilities, and fundraising while working to establish an endowment to provide funding for students to be tested for learning disabilities when they realize they may have an undiagnosed challenge.

Thierry

Thierry is a senior majoring in the College of Communication. He is involved in student organizations related to African students and international students. Thierry also worked in an office dedicated to supporting students of color on campus at the time of the interview. Both of Thierry's parents completed Bachelor's degrees. Thierry was born in West Africa and came to the US when he was six years old after his family received Visas through the Visa lottery program. After coming to the US he lived in a large city in Texas and a suburb of that city. His family had to start over when they immigrated, so they were financially strained when they first arrived, but have steadily increased their income and wealth over the years.

Thierry attended schools that he found to be very diverse where he was involved in sports, honors organizations, and school-spirit related activities. Thierry's parents did not discuss diversity or difference very often, but when he became influenced by the media and other messages and came to believe that "the white man will always win," Thierry's father told him he should never believe that and he can do anything he pursues. Thierry was made fun of for being different and was questioned about his immigrant status while growing up. Thierry reflected on how surprised people seem when they find out he emigrated from West Africa, which he attributes to "confined perspectives" many people have about people from Africa. He also explained how much he values the culture and experiences from his country of origin. "I personally wish I was in [name of

the country in West Africa] a little bit longer. I feel like I would be so much more driven than I already am if I had been there for two to three more years." Thierry's reflection reinforces the connection to and importance of his heritage. Thierry's main focus of his ally work is raising awareness of privilege and social justice. His actions focused on using his skills and experience with marketing and visual arts to help various student organizations promote educational events and/or raise awareness about social issues.

Tam

Tam is a sophomore in the College of Natural Sciences. She is involved in student organizations related to her professional goals. Tam also worked in an office dedicated to supporting students of color on campus at the time of the interview. Her mother did not finish high school and her father graduated from high school. Tam grew up in a large city in Texas in an area that she describes as "shady". Because the schools in her area were low performing, her mother used her uncle's address so she could attend school in a near-by suburb. Tam describes her family as very racist. Growing up she heard several derogatory comments made about people of different race/ethnicity, particularly people of Mexican descent, Blacks or African Americans, and people from Laos. She explained "Growing up in my head it was like, I hate these people too because my family hates them." As Tam developed she established relationships with people who were parts of the groups her family stereotyped and began to realize the statements could not be true.

Tam has three older sisters and two younger half-brothers. Tam's younger brothers are half-Black and she noted the hypocrisy in her mother's actions in having children with a Black man, while continue to stereotype and make negative comments about Black people. Tam was active in several student organizations in high school. She

had difficulty being stereotyped as Chinese, even though she is Vietnamese, and not being fully accepted by the Latino/a students in her school, even though she had similar interests and many friends within the community. Tam's family struggled financially, but her mother put importance on having brand name clothing and handbags to appear as if they were not struggling, particularly when visiting family in Vietnam. Tam has limited the amount of interactions she has with her family since coming to college. Her ally actions are focused on working against heterosexism and classism. Tam takes action by increasing awareness of heterosexism in every day actions with friends and co-workers. She has taken action against classism by recognizing behaviors or comments that reflect classist assumptions or beliefs and drawing attention to this to create discourse.

Sanaa

Sanaa is a senior in the College of Education. She is active in several student organizations focused on academic achievement, Black health professionals and African students. Sanaa also worked as a Resident Assistant on campus at the time of the interviews. Her mother completed a bachelor's degree and her father completed an associate's degree. Sanaa grew up in a suburb of a large city in Texas. She described this area as relatively diverse based on racial/ethnic composition. Sanaa was active in political campaigns with her father, volunteering at a hospital, honors organizations, and sports. Sanaa's half-siblings are half Swedish and are married to people from Chile, Brazil and Africa. There is also a large amount of religious diversity in her family, with the family being about 1/3 atheist, 1/3 Christian, and 1/3 Muslim. Sanaa reflected on this difference and explained

> It doesn't cause as much family conflict as I thought it would. If anything it's sometimes strange to others when they see our family together, when they see

> someone wearing a cross on their chest and another person with only their eye view [wearing traditional Muslim dress for women]. It causes a lot of confusion for other people.

Sanaa struggled to finance her education because her family made too much for her to qualify for need-based aid, but not enough to help pay for her education. She had good grades and test scores, but not enough to get aid based solely on merit. When she sought assistance from counselors and family, they often recommended aid for Black or African American students, but she found that many of these scholarships were need-based so she did not qualify. She found this to be a challenge related to the collision of her race and socioeconomic status. Sanaa's ally work is focused on increasing awareness of privilege and working towards equity for all people. Her actions include coordinating and presenting education programs that highlights how differences in privilege manifest in everyday actions and speaking up when she witnesses injustice or ignorance.

Liz

Liz is a senior in the College of Social Work. She is active in student organizations focused on ministry and equity and diversity. Before transferring to UT-Austin she worked as an AmeriCorps volunteer tutoring and mentoring at low-income schools. Her mother attended college but did not complete a degree and her father has a master's degree. Liz lived in three different states before moving to Texas when she was 10 years old. She lived in different suburbs of a large city in Texas through most of junior high and high school. Liz remembers there being a lot of racism in one of the states she lived in before coming to college. The cities she lived in after coming to Texas were predominately white. Liz was very active in her church and the youth group. Liz's

parents taught her the importance of acceptance and love for everyone, a value which is very important to her.

While growing up she remembers being exposed to people from different countries and cultures, through visitors to her home, church activities, and ministry trips. Liz reflected on how her family approached difference and explained, "They were like 'it's different, so it's good, let's bring everybody in'. It wasn't like 'it's weird'. It was just normal, that is just what you do." Although she was very young she remembers a program with her church and an African American church about reconciliation. Much of Liz's exposure and experience to difference is related to her church or missionary work. She recognized that Christian missions have different approaches and was happy to have experiences with groups who had an approach in line with her own philosophy "A lot of Christians are very paternalistic and oppressive in their own way. But I was blessed that this group [a group she worked with in South Africa and Kenya] wasn't like that." Liz's ally actions are focused on working towards equity for all people. She affects change by working with a student organization to present programs about various social justice issues to raise awareness. Liz also strives to consistently role model inclusiveness in her actions with others.

Audrey

Audrey is a junior in the College of Liberal Arts. She is active in a student organization focused on reducing violence against women. At the time of the interviews, she was also working as a Resident Assistant on campus. Her mother completed an associate's degree and her father completed a master's degree. Audrey grew up in a suburb of a large city in Texas. She has a younger brother and their parents were divorced

when she was one. In the beginning after the divorce she would spend weekends at her dad's, but these visits became less frequent when she got older and her father moved out of state. The schools Audrey attended were predominately white and Hispanic[4], with a small percentage of African American students. Audrey's high school was a magnet school where she was focused on the legal field. She was also involved in the student newspaper, choir and teen court.

Audrey's mom struggled to find work when she was in high school, so the family relied on food stamps and reduced lunch programs at school. She remembers being embarrassed about not having as much as others and missing out on doing things with her friends. Audrey also remembers being angry at times about what she was missing out on. She explained "I just had to realize that my mom was doing what she can, just deal with it and if I want to change it, get a job." Therefore, during her junior and senior year in high school Audrey worked as a waitress and had a paid internship at a law firm to provide for herself and help her family. Audrey's ally actions are focused on working against heterosexism and sexism. She works against these forms of oppression by planning educational programs to raise awareness because she feels that, "the more people that are educated and aware, the more power they have to stop it."

Vanessa

Vanessa is a senior in the College of Liberal Arts. She is involved in student organizations focused on community service and advocacy for the gay, lesbian, bisexual,

[4] The term Hispanic is used when participants selected this term in their descriptions of their communities, schools or experiences. I acknowledge that this may not be the preferred term of many members of the community being described. I made a choose to use this term to accurately represent what the participants explained about their experiences and backgrounds.

transgender, and queer community on campus. Her mother graduated from high school and her dad did not finish high school. She grew up in a medium sized city in Texas. Vanessa started college at a private university in Texas before transferring to UT-Austin. She has two brothers and one sister. Her mother is Hispanic and her father is white and they had to elope to get married because neither family approved of their relationship. Although there is some religious diversity within her immediate family, she described her family as a whole as very conservative Southern Baptist. Vanessa described the schools she attended as average, pretty diverse with relatively equal representation of white, Hispanic and African American students, not low socioeconomic status, and no dominant political affiliation. She was active in several honors and educational student organizations and was the manager of a sports team, which was her favorite activity.

Vanessa was also active in her Catholic church as a youth leader and teachers' aide for Communion class. During high school her best friend came out to her and she supported him as he came out to other friends and eventually his family. Seeing how different people reacted to her friend after he came out influenced her to learn more and become an ally. Vanessa explained her awareness before becoming an ally:

> I was never homophobic, I was just kind of indifferent about it. I just did not care. I honestly did not even know gay people were being oppressed, which is kind of strange because I knew it was happening based on race, class and sex.

Vanessa's story highlights how her relationship with her friend and others led to her learning more about the effects of oppression and influenced her to take action. Vanessa takes action against heterosexism by attending protests and demonstrations, serving on a committee that plans celebratory events for members of the gay, lesbian, bisexual,

transgender, queer and ally (GLBTQA) community, and maintaining a private blog that identifies her as an ally and offers support to members of the GLBTQA community.

Fernando

Fernando is a senior in the Cockrell School of Engineering. He is active in an organization focused on reducing violence against women. At the time of the interviews he was also working as a Resident Assistant on campus. Fernando's mother did not finish high school and his father attended college but did not complete a degree. Fernando was born in Mexico and moved to the US when he was two and he grew up in a medium sized, predominately Hispanic city in Texas. He describes his parents as having old fashioned values because they came from Mexico. His mom stayed at home and took care of the household while his father worked on a boat. Growing up Fernando was very cognizant of the power differences between his mother and father and asked why his mother had to ask his father for permission to do anything. His mother explained "that is just the way it works." Fernando was involved in the Cub Scouts until his participation became too expensive for his family to support.

In high school Fernando was involved in several leadership organizations and activities. Fernando has always identified as gay, but did not come out to many people or his family until he came to college. He still has not come out to his father. Fernando reflected on how his experiences before college affected his interactions with others in the beginning:

> In high school I lived in the closet the whole time so coming to UT and interacting with people who were used to being out of the closet was a huge adjustment for me.; To the point where I came off as homophobic…I grew up thinking gay is bad so I did come off as homophobic.

Fernando's comments reflect his development since coming to college, as well as the influence internalized oppression can have on members of targeted groups. As an ally, Fernando focused on taking action against sexism and domestic violence. He affects change by planning events to raise awareness of the effects of domestic violence and by using his relationships with other students to educate them about how their language or actions may harm or hurt others.

Kiersten

Kiersten is a senior in the College of Liberal Arts. She is active in several student organizations focused on honors, leadership, theater, and healthy sexuality. Both Kiersten's mother and father completed a bachelor's degree. Kiersten grew up in a large city in Texas. She attended schools that were predominately African American and Hispanic. Kiersten said that there were white children in her neighborhood, but many of them attended private school. Both of Kiersten's parents went to Bible College and her grandfather was a pastor of a Southern Baptist church most of his life and many of her family members were leaders in the church. Although they were very active in the church, Kiersten explained that her family was not as conservative as you would expect and was taught that everyone is equal and there is nothing different between her and the person down the street. Her grandmother started one of the homeless centers in the city where they lived, so Kiersten spent time there and learned that homeless people were the same as her, just "down on their luck."

Kiersten was involved in choir, band, sports, and church. She remembers being politically oriented in high school. One pivotal moment in Kiersten's life before college was her parent's divorce after 25 years of marriage. They were divorced because her dad

is gay. Her mom had known for six years before they told the family and sought a divorce. Kiersten thinks this experience taught her to be accepting and about the struggle many gay, lesbian, or bisexual people face and the pressure her father must have felt to get married, even though he knew he is gay. Kiersten is an advocate for women and women's health and tries to focus on issues affecting women of color, particularly African American women. She has taken action against oppression by listening, learning and observing and providing support in any way African American women identify as helpful in promoting sexual health and reproductive freedom for their community.

Adriana

Adriana is a senior in the College of Liberal Arts. She is active in many student organizations focused on equality and organizing for change. Neither of Adriana's parents finished high school. Adriana was born in Mexico and moved to the US when she was 9. After several years of working through the system, Adriana and her family recently established legal residency in the US. She describes her family as very, very traditional and Catholic. Adriana lived in large city in Texas and then a suburb of that city. Her neighborhood was low income. Adriana attended a magnet school that was predominately African American and Hispanic. She volunteered at various places and was involved in several student organizations before starting a non-profit organization to support undocumented students going to college.

Adriana explained that "going to college wasn't in the norm for someone like me," so she had to challenge the stereotypes and lack of expectations her family had for her to go to college and tried to help them understand the process and importance. Her older sister had also attended college and Adriana had financial support to attend which

helped convince her parents to give her permission to attend. Adriana takes action against oppression in several ways. The most visible actions are lobbying during the legislative session in Texas and starting non-profit or student organizations related to human rights or civil rights issues. Although her interests and actions are related to several forms of oppression, she is most passionate and active in her work with the immigrant community.

Conclusion

This chapter provided an overview of the participants in this study, in addition to an introduction to their personal story focusing on their experiences before coming to college that they highlighted as important in their interviews. These stories demonstrate the diversity of the backgrounds of these students that were identified as social justice allies by their peers. Chapter 5 will highlight the similarities in the college experiences of the participants, but it important to remember that students from all different types of neighborhoods, schools, families and experiences come to college and develop the knowledge, skills and desire needed to take action against oppression. The pre-college diversity present in these stories is testament of the importance of college experiences in the ally development process.

Chapter Five: The Role of Formative and College Experiences in the Ally Development Process

Introduction

As the profiles in the previous chapter highlighted, the allies in this study came from remarkably different backgrounds. The participants' race/ethnicity, field of study, socioeconomic status, sexual orientation, religious background, family background, neighborhood/country/city of origin, type of pre-college schools and the educational attainment of their parents represent the diversity that exists within the group. Each individual identified pivotal experiences that influenced their values, perspective and life path. A few of the allies were cognizant of oppression and began to take action before college. For all of the allies the college environment contributed to the level of knowledge and skill which nurtured their ability and desire to take action against oppression. Identifying the similarities in these allies experiences before and during college may help student affairs professionals discover ways that universities may identify students on their campuses who have the potential to become allies and support them in their ally development process. This chapter analyzes specific factors and how each participant described the influence of each experience or environment.

Formative Experiences

This section focuses on the experiences of the allies before coming to college. Collectively, these events are referred to as formative experiences because they were significant moments or environments that influenced the allies' development. The formative experiences discussed include the types of people, viewpoints, values, and

reactions they were exposed to (or not exposed to) in the years before starting their college career. Each of these experiences had varying levels of influence on each ally, but taken together they had a significant effect on her/his perspective and choices.

High School Diversity

During the first interview participants were asked about the diversity of the schools they attended before coming to UT-Austin. Although it was not specified in the question, all of the allies described the diversity of their schools in terms of race/ethnicity. This is not surprising because it is common for discussions of diversity to focus on structural diversity, mainly racial/ethnic composition (Hurtado, 2001). However, as discussed later in this chapter, when the participants discussed the diversity of their friendship groups they discussed several characteristics beyond race/ethnicity. The focus on the racial/ethnic composition of their high schools raises questions about the level of understanding of various factors that contribute to diversity while they were in high school. The lack of discussion on topics may be a reflection of their level of understanding and cognition of other factors at the time, more than a reflection of whether other types of diversity were present.

The majority (8 out of 10) of participants attended schools that they reported to be diverse. When this was described further, most described their schools as having relatively equal amounts of Hispanic, African American and white students, with a small percentage of Asian American students. Matthew attended a predominately white school and Fernando attended a predominately Hispanic school.

Other than racial/ethnic diversity, two allies discussed other forms of diversity present in their schools. Matthew, who attended private schools, described a high level

of socioeconomic diversity because of the amount of students who receive financial aid from the school. He described:

> About 70% of the student body at [name of high school] was on financial aid. I would say a majority of them had substantial financial aid, as I did. I barely paid anything to go to [name of high school]. You had very rich kids and you had very poor kids because they were all about academics. If you had high test scores you could get into [name of high school] and they would pay for it.

Matthew's discussion of socioeconomic diversity was unique and was not mentioned by any of the other allies. This is not surprising due to the high levels of racial/ethnic and/or socioeconomic segregation common in high schools in the US and Texas (Orfield, 2005).

Tam talked about another factor that was not mentioned by the other allies, sexual orientation. Tam discussed students at her school who were openly gay/lesbian and how they were treated. Because sexual orientation was not discussed by the other participants, this raises questions about why this was not discussed. The silence on the topic may be because there were not openly gay or lesbian students at the schools the other allies attended, or perhaps, as discussed above, this could be the result of not recognizing or being cognizant of this as a form of diversity while in high school.

Although there were relatively high levels of diversity (based on race/ethnicity) in most of the schools they attended, most of the allies did not remember diversity or difference being discussed in school. Kiersten provided an explanation for why she thought difference was not discussed more: "It was more like if we don't discuss it, there is no difference. Like we're all kind of the same, let's pretend we are the same." This reflects a perspective based on the idea of color-blindness, not seeing or recognizing difference. The other experiences of the allies shows Kiersten's perspective was most likely representative of many of the schools the participants attended.

While many of the participants reported there were no discussions of diversity, some of the allies did remember significant events related to difference. Vanessa and Tam only remembered race being an issue when there was tension between racial groups following the fights between students of different races/ethnicities. Vanessa said, "There was a race war my freshman year between the Hispanics and the Blacks, but we never talked about it. To this day I don't know why it started or what happened as a result." Despite the racial tension, Vanessa did not remember there being discussion about this incident or what it was about. The racially-charged incident that Tam described was similar, it happened, but was not discussed. Matthew also experienced a time of racial tension and talked to his friends to try to understand the issues:

> There were also some really tough issues in high school where things blew us away, like my senior year there was a solid week of discussion on why there were not more Black students here [at the high school].I brought it up with my buddies [names redacted] and asked if it was a problem because I had never thought about it. They were like, "when I am the only Black guy in my class it sucks [sic]."

The discussion Matthew had about this incident was the result of him seeking more information. Although the issues were affecting and being discussed by students, Matthew's school did not encourage or lead dialogue on the topic.

The experiences described by Tam, Vanessa and Matthew all show that there were incidents that could have been used as opportunities to teach and talk about difference, but the schools did not use these issues as opportunities. In contrast, Thierry experienced high levels of racial/ethnic diversity in his classrooms that was celebrated. In describing his classes, Thierry discussed how different cultures were represented:

> Because in our class there was always the African, the Asian student and the South American, and there was always the white student, the Black student. I feel like our class, I don't know if they did that intentionally, but it was really cool

> because everyone of them had…all different backgrounds, but it's funny, it was international [sic].

Thierry remembered diversity being celebrated by highlighting the various countries that were represented at his high school. This recognition and celebration of difference was unique to Thierry's experience. As described above, the more common response of schools was silence on issues of diversity and difference, even in response to issues that opened up opportunity for discussion and learning.

Neighborhood Diversity

Ally participants were also asked about the diversity of the neighborhoods they lived in growing up. Since the majority of the allies attended schools in their neighborhood, the environments they described at school were similar to where they lived. Tam and Matthew attended schools outside of the neighborhoods they lived in. Tam reported that both her neighborhood and school were diverse, while Matthew said both his neighborhood and school were predominately white.

Experience with Oppression

During the first interview, participants were asked if they had any challenges while growing up before coming to college due to a marker of difference (such as race, ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, social class, or ability level). Every ally had experienced some sort of challenge because of a marker of difference. The stories described how they confronted/experienced various forms of oppression at different times during their formative years. The challenges they experienced ranged from personal to observing someone close to them deal with a different issue or interaction. The experience that made things difficult for the participants was often due to the actions of

another person, who was sometimes a person they hardly knew and for others a member of their family or someone very close to them.

Challenges related to the action of a person/people often involved being stereotyped because of a social group they are a member of, or perceived to be a member of, even when the stereotype did not apply to the ally who was targeted because of this. Adriana described some of the challenges she faced:

> I mean just being Hispanic, being Latina, you have all of the stereotypes where the family doesn't support you, doesn't expect much from you, especially after high school. So, you have to face challenges, like hey I want to go to college.

As this describes, Adriana's challenges were related to the stereotypes, perceptions and expectations of her family. Some of Kiersten's challenges were related to perceptions of academic performance based on gender. Kiersten described this and how she responded: "there was some inferiority in the classroom where males were supposed to be naturally smarter than females, but I went to school with some very intelligent women so we made a pact to prove them wrong." This reflection shows that Kiersten was able to work with peers to combat the stereotypes placed on them.

Some of Vanessa's experiences with oppression were also related to stereotypes and perceptions. Vanessa and her brother are both half Hispanic and half white and they were in the same grade in school, although they are not twins. Many people thought Vanessa's brother was Middle Eastern based on his appearance, so they also thought she was Middle Eastern. These perceptions resulted in them, "being called terrorists and other names," especially after 9/11. Vanessa also struggled because of her bi-racial background:

"I have experienced some form of racial oppression even from family. Sometimes I feel that I am not Hispanic enough for my Hispanic family and not white enough for white family". For Vanessa, the challenge of not feeling fully included in her Hispanic or white family was further exacerbated by the perceptions that she was a member of a third racial/ethnic group, Middle Eastern, to which she does not belong or relate to.

Tam's challenges were also related to misperceptions of her race/ethnicity and feeling a connection to a community that did not include her race/ethnicity. Tam attended a school that had a large Latino/a community and she had many Latino friends, although she is Vietnamese. This caused tension because of perceptions about her intentions. Tam felt that many of the Latino/a students at her school thought she was trying to act Latino because of the types of music she liked and language she used and understood. Tam further explained:

> I knew a lot of Spanish phrases so I could pick up on things and they [Latina students] were like, look at her, she is trying to be Hispanic….and she's a Chinita. And I'm not even Chinese, you know, and that was a big deal to me and that was a huge conflict for me because the Latina girls hated me.

Because Tam had Latino friends she became a target for Latina students and they highlighted how she was different to distance her from the Latino/a community. Tam was also perceived to be Chinese, although she is Vietnamese, showing that it was not as important to identify exactly what her background is, just that she was not part of the Latino/a community.

Thierry also dealt with misperceptions, but in his experiences they were more related to expectations because of his immigrant status. Thierry described being asked "the questions, the ignorance…'How did you get here? How did you learn to speak English?' Those kinds of stories, things like that, which I think is a form of abuse." In

talking about these experiences, Thierry expressed that he felt that it was inevitable that this would happen. He said:

> It's going to happen forever. As long as they know I am from a different place, not from here. People are always so shocked, like 'Where did you learn your English from? You don't have an accent, Blah, blah blah.' Things like that are always going to come up.

Thierry's experiences highlight how some of the challenges and oppression faced are ongoing, while others were more part of the past for the allies.

Fernando's challenges were related to his sexual orientation. He said, "I wasn't out, per se, but people knew."Fernando further reflected:

> I have always identified as gay. I have always known I was gay. It was very difficult for me to come out, mainly because growing up in a mainly Hispanic community it is very hard to be openly gay because there is a negative stereotype.

His reflections demonstrate that the challenge and difficulty was compounded because in some quarters his sexual orientation is not accepted by the racial/ethnic group he belongs to.

Some of the challenges that participants experienced did not involve people and were more related to lack of resources/access because of their socioeconomic status. Audrey described some of the challenges she experienced, "But, the hardest part was, for me, the hardest part about socioeconomic status is being embarrassed and knowing you don't have all the same stuff your friends have." This reflection reminds us of the pressure adolescents often feel to have the same things as their friends or peers. Matthew's challenges were also related to socioeconomic status. He said, "I was at a different level than a lot of the guys I hung out with and that was a constant reminder of the difference with social class." This again shows how comparison to peers or friends can illuminate the differences based on socioeconomic status. Sanaa reflected on how

expectations about her socioeconomic status based on her race made it difficult for her to find needed financial aid for college. Sanaa struggled to find scholarships or aid that was for African American students that was not need-based because her parents income was too high to qualify for need-based aid, but too low to allow them to finance her education.

As described above, all of the allies had experienced some form of oppression or challenge due to a marker of difference. Many of the allies, including Adriana, Kiersten, Vanessa, Tam, Thierry and Fernando, experienced challenges related to stereotypes based on a social group they are a member of, or perceived to be a member of. Audrey, Sanaa and Matthew's challenges were more related to lack of resources due to their socioeconomic status. Despite the differences in the types of challenges, these experiences helped the allies develop ways to respond to challenge and oppression.

Family Values and Experiences

During the first and second interviews, experiences with their families and the related family values they were taught were some of the most frequently discussed concepts. Other than being very influential in their lives, there were no overarching similarities among the values in the allies' families. Some of the allies' were very open and role modeled inclusiveness, while others had negative views and reactions to difference. Therefore, I will provide a summary of what each person discussed in relation to the values of their family of origin.

Kiersten's family's values were rooted in the Southern Baptist faith. She was taught about acceptance and that there is no difference in a person's value regardless of their background. Liz's family's values were also rooted in Christianity and she was taught the importance of acceptance and love, faith and obedience. She found that the

messages about acceptance and love had a big impact on her life because it helped her to be open-minded. Liz was also taught that difference is good and that there is no reason to judge, just to learn from it. Although not directly related to religion, Thierry's family values are routed in his West African heritage and the sense of family, community and culture there.

Vanessa had mixed messages from her family because of the differences between her mother's and father's family. Her father is white and was raised Southern Baptist and her mother is Mexican and was raised Catholic. She described feeling pressure from each of these families to adopt more to their values and not truly feeling part of either side of the family because of this tension. Fernando's family demonstrated their belief in the importance of traditional gender roles based on their Mexican heritage. He explained that his parents were not exposed to diversity and therefore had little experience dealing with difference. Fernando was taught that being gay was wrong and was unable to come out to his father because of fear. He reflected on this experience:

> The most insults [about being gay], I think came from my dad. I never came out to my dad…ever…because growing up I always had this idea that if I came out he would do something to me. He would always say if you were to be gay I would beat you, I would disown you. I always knew if I was going to tell my dad, it was going to be a very, very hard thing to do.

Because of the way Fernando's father discussed being gay and how he would react to his son being gay, Fernando never came out to his father and never planned to at the time of the interview.

Adriana also described her family's values in relation to their Mexican heritage, the traditional role of women, and the importance of Catholicism. Because many topics,

such as sex and diversity, were not discussed in her home, Adriana felt that she was not well rounded when she came to college.

Matthew's father often stereotyped groups and found humor in this. Matthew's mother emigrated from Peru and is a firm believer in the American Dream of being able to pull yourself up by your bootstraps, no matter where you come from or your social status. Audrey did not talk as much about the family values she was taught, but remembers her mother being unhappy when she was dating a Black man. Audrey's mother never stated her reason for her unhappiness about the relationship, but explained that she would really prefer if Audrey "not date a Black guy." Tam described her family's values as very racist and described many of the negative stereotypes she heard while growing up. Many of these stereotypes seemed to be based in fear and were related to what her family believed people of other race/ethnicities may do to Tam or members of her family. Tam said that she thinks that her parents believed many of these ideas because they came to the US from Vietnam when they were teenagers and they were not exposed to people different than themselves. Two of Tam's older sisters had beliefs similar to her parents, but her third sister, the one closest to her age, had come to UT-Austin and exposed Tam to alternative views on people different than their family.

The diversity of the backgrounds and messages the allies received from their families demonstrates that people with all different formative experiences become social justice allies while in college. The variety of the background represented, including participants who were raised being exposed to negative views of diversity, demonstrates that college experiences can and do contribute to all different types of students becoming allies. The fact that students who were raised being exposed to negative views of

diversity were identified as allies by their peers was not expected. Based on my understanding of the literature, it seemed unlikely that a student would be open and comfortable enough to learn about difference in college and have experiences with people different than themselves if they had been exposed to many negative messages about diversity before coming to college. The presence of these allies in this study shows how influential college can be on students from a variety of backgrounds.

Openness to Diversity

At the beginning of the second interview, participants were asked to think about themselves before they started college and to report on how open to people different than themselves they were at that time. They were then asked to compare this level of openness, to their current level of openness. A majority of the allies (7 out of 10) reported being open to others when they came to college, but all noted an increase in their level of openness and knowledge about people different than them while in college. Kiersten's explanation of her openness and how it has changed represents what was expressed by many of the allies. Kiersten said:

> I've always been very open and inviting to people. I've been very cognizant of outcasts and making sure people always feel included. But, definitely the acceptance of different lifestyles and different types of people has increased.

Vanessa, Sanaa, Audrey, Thierry, and Liz discussed experiences of being open to begin with, but increasing this level of openness throughout college, similar to Kiersten.

Matthew distinguished between his level of openness and his level of knowledge:

> I think my level of openness was high. I mean I was open to new things. I have always been open in that sense. I like new opportunities, meeting new people. I think my level of knowledge was low, or just, something my dad used to say, my reservoir of knowledge was very limited.

This distinction is important because being open to things and knowing things are very different. Being open is an important precursor to acquiring new knowledge, skills and ability. However, openness alone will not result in development, unless action is taken to acquire new information, learn and form new relationships. Matthew acknowledged that he did not know much before coming to college, but because of his openness and effort he increased his knowledge of and experiences with others.

Fernando, Adriana, and Tam all reported that they were not very open when they came to college, but reported that their level of openness had significantly increased during college. This was even true for Tam who was at the end of her second year at the time of the interview. Tam and Adriana both attributed the fact that they were not open to others to what they were taught about others growing up. Tam reflected:

> When I came to college I was definitely in the mindset like I was back home…like I knew it wasn't true, but something in your head is just triggered, your first thought. And now it's slowly changing…because people here at UT are different from what I experienced back home…I am not so quick to assume that this person is this way. So the stereotypes just kind of went away. Like I know what they are, but I don't necessarily associate them with anybody like I used to.

Fernando felt that being gay and living in the closet for most of high school led to him being uncomfortable around openly gay people. As explained in Chapter 4, Fernando described:

> In high school I lived in the closet the whole time so coming to UT and interacting with people who were used to being out of the closet was a huge adjustment for me.; To the point where I came off as homophobic…I grew up thinking gay is bad so I did come off as homophobic.

As discussed, this shows the influence of internalized oppression on Fernando's experiences. Fernando also felt that some of his lack of openness was the result of not being exposed to much difference before coming to college.

As this section highlights, even students who were not open or comfortable with diversity or difference before coming to college were influenced by college and were able to learn and change their perceptions enough to take action as allies. As discussed in the previous section, it was not expected that students who were not open to diversity and difference when they started college would become comfortable and open enough to have the experiences and develop the knowledge needed to become an ally while in college. This shows that college experiences have the potential to create openness in students, even when it did not exist when they began college. Also, the allies' experiences demonstrate that even students who were open to diversity when they came to college were positively influenced by their experiences while in college.

College Experiences

While there were several similarities in the formative experiences of the participants, analysis of their college experiences also revealed commonalities. Many other UT-Austin students undoubtedly had similar experiences, but were not influenced to become allies as the participants in this study were. Finding out what about these students stories and how the pivotal moments in their college careers and led to them developing the interest, knowledge, skills and abilities to become an ally is the primary goal of this study. It is these intersections and stories that will help student affairs professionals identify how they may be able to identify potential allies and support them in the complex ally development process.

Overall Influence of College

Although it was not specifically asked about, many of the participants reflected on how the overall college experience had influenced them. Kiersten discussed

consciousness raising that happens in college through classes and talking with friends. Fernando talked about how he was able to define himself through college. Matthew talked about experiences with difference before college and how "none of this really…stood out to me until I came to college and it all started making sense…when you realize this is a larger issue. That it is systemic, institutional." This demonstrates Matthew's realization that oppression is systemic and it affects everyone.

Sanaa, Audrey and Thierry all reflected on how college had helped them develop and learn because of the knowledge they gained, relationships they developed and experiences they had. Thierry's statement is representative of the sentiment expressed by all three allies. He said, "You literally grow up in college. You literally get exposed to the whole regime of representation and how things came to be and how people are treated." This demonstrates cognizance of the development process in general, in addition to increasing knowledge about the systemic nature of privilege and oppression.

Liz discussed her experiences working as a volunteer with AmeriCorps and how her experience at UT-Austin allowed her to put this into perspective. Liz explained that after coming to UT-Austin:

> I could articulate the issues better and I could see the system more clearly. I was able to put the two [her volunteer experiences and coursework at UT] together. So I became more interested in not just helping people, but how I can help them in a different kind of way by working against the system, which is what oppresses them.

For Liz and others, it was the combination of experiences and coursework that allowed them to understand oppression and once they understood it they wanted to take action to affect change. Liz's experiences motivated her to take action to increase equity and awareness of privilege and oppression.

Through their college experiences the participants developed a complex understanding of privilege and oppression. Based on the work of Chizhik and Chizhik (2005) a complex understanding of these terms includes cognizance that people (including one's self) can be both privileged and oppressed. Sanaa said that she a had a good understanding of these concepts before coming to college because he father was involved in community work and political campaigns and often included her in the activities. She reported that these experiences allowed her to have different experiences that led to her understanding. The rest of the participants reported that they did not have a true understanding of privilege and oppression until coming to college. Matthew attributed his understanding of these concepts to various experiences over time while in college. Audrey talked about the influence of the diversity component of Resident Assistant training in the development of her understanding. The other participants came to understand privilege and oppression through course content. Other ways these college experiences affected the participants will be discussed in the following sections.

Regardless of how they came to understand the terms, all of the participants had a complex understanding of privilege and oppression. They all recognized that they belonged to some social groups which led to privilege in some areas and other social group memberships which led to being oppressed in other areas. This is significant given the findings of a study conducted by Chizhik and Chizhik (2005) which examined students' consciousness of their own and other's levels of privilege and oppression. They found that without a complex understanding of privilege and oppression in one's self and others, students were unlikely to be engaged or interested in social justice work (Chizhik & Chizhik, 2005). Considering that all of the participants in this study had a complex

understanding of these concepts, it is important to consider this as a potential precursor to ally work.

Moment of Realization

In addition to discussing the overall influence of college, several of the allies discussed having moments of realization. Again, this was a topic not specifically asked about in the interview, but shared by many participants. Many of the allies discussed how once they realized there was a problem they felt they had to do something about it, that *they were moved to take action*. The specific quotes where the allies discuss this have been *italicized* to emphasize the sense of urgency they felt in their moment of realization. Kiersten pinpointed a very specific moment that was significant for her:

> My sophomore year I took a women's reproductive health class and it was just kind of a moment where I was like, "I am a woman and I know nothing about my body and I am 20 years old. That is just ridiculous." That was the moment that I decided that advocating for women and women's health was really was I was probably going to do, at least for a good portion for my life. And that was simply because I myself did not realize how oppressed I was. It was just a moment of consciousness raising, not to be cheesy total 1960s feminist. In the classroom just feeling that I myself was oppressed and that if I am oppressed, there are plenty of people that are oppressed and then realizing there are other people oppressed more than me, like women of color, obviously are oppressed more in reproductive health than white women…And there was a moment when I was like, I *can't just let this happen* [emphasis added].

As discussed in Chapter 2, Sara Evans (1979) discussed how many women in 1970s, became politicized when they realized that they were oppressed. This is very similar to what Kiersten experienced. Once Kiersten realized that she and others were oppressed she was moved to take action.

Vanessa also discussed a particular moment of realization concerning an experience where a friend came out of the closet:

> Seeing that [the difficulty her friend experienced when he came out to friends and family] made me see how horrible some of the circumstances that this community has to go through. And I was upset with myself for not seeing it in the first place…now that I have seen it, there is no way I could sit back and accept it. Ever since then, I think it was the moment when [his family] sent him to a camp to have him changed and cured. That I was just like this is ridiculous. I mean seeing him lose his friends was hard on me too and that is really when I started speaking out, But it was that point when I said I had to do something, *I can't just sit back and watch this happen* [emphasis added].

Similar to what Kiersten experienced, once Vanessa realized the difficulty many members of the gay, lesbian, and bisexual community experience in the coming out process she was moved to take action.

Fernando reflected, "So I can't say I had a defining moment where I change, it was a process whereby little by little I was realizing that there is a lot of misfortune in the world and *something should be done about it* [emphasis added]." He further described, "I developed this attitude of *I need to do something, I need to do something now*." Fernando realized the effects of oppression and was moved to take action, similar to what Kiersten and Vanessa described.

For Matthew, there were several things that happened to him personally, or something he heard about, that made him realize he needed take action. He talked about a deeply personal experience related to his father's illness:

> You know, so seeing the strongest guy I know, the guy to this day that I look up to and admire and love, slowly lose his ability, all the way down to his mental faculty was probably the toughest thing I ever had to do.

Matthew went on to describe how this experience encouraged him to take further action against ableism. Although he was already involved when this happened, the experience with his father helped him understand more aspects of ability and

expand the scope of his work.

Sanaa's moment of realization started with her realizing how privileged she was in comparison to another person. She described:

> I had this big realization when I came to college, how blessed I was, because my roommate had so many issues…and her parents are basically druggies and alcoholics and they still had custody of her and her dad only called when he was drunk to cuss her out. And so, to me, I didn't understand parents could be that way, and I'm like dang I'm so privileged to have my parents this way.

Sanaa talked about how what she experienced and what her friends have experienced influenced her to want to take action. She discussed how she needs to react when seeing injustice "yeah, it's just something you're going to react to and *I'm going to say something, regardless* [emphasis added]. So, I'm just not into people being ignorant." Similar to the other allies previously described, Sanaa was moved to action. For her it was when she witnessed others being ignorant.

In describing her moment of realization, Audrey said when she first started to be cognizant of white privilege:

> There was one day when we had to read an article about white privilege and it just listed all of the things you get because you are white. Not having to worry that if you get pulled over it's because of your race. Like not having to worry about that and it was just a lot of things like that, that got me to really start thinking about it.

Audrey also discussed how she loves observing people's faces when they begin to realize that oppression really does happen on a daily basis. Having her own moment of realization and seeing others have similar reactions moved Audrey to take action.

Tam described how different the people she has met at UT-Austin are from the stereotypes she heard growing up. Once she realized all of the diversity on campus she said "*for me to just sit here* and not try to understand it and not try to embrace it *wasn't*

an option [emphasis added]. Because it's here, it's right in front of you." Realizing how close to diversity she was and how she could have an influence moved Tam to take action.

Thierry reflected on his experience as a child and thinking that "the white man always wins" and being corrected by his father. He later realized the influence of the media on society, particularly children, and decided "it's important to let them [children of color] to know, don't ever limit your success just because of this." His reflections on his childhood and realizing that other children may be affected the same way he was moved Thierry to take action.

Adriana talked about understanding her own oppression, as well as the oppression of others. In reference to her own oppression she said:

> I guess just being oppressed all my life, by different factors, by the culture itself and the norms. You grow up thinking it's okay, but once you realize that other kids are not doing the same thing, you start realizing that hey there is a difference between this child and this child and why is that. So, I guess growing up and knowing that there was another side of it made me understand that it was a part of oppression. And that I didn't have to follow the norms, that I wasn't meant to do the stereotypes. That I would go against that and it would be a resource to empower me, rather than continue the oppression.

Realizing that she can use stereotypes as a motivator was Adriana's first step in moving towards taking action. In reference to realizing how others are oppressed, Adriana talked about one experience with a specific group:

> One of the speakers, she was Native American, she was talking about the issues and how the community has suffered so much and it really interested me to begin working with the community and I took a Native American history class and it was really, really life-changing because you know I was really able to understand someone's point of view while not having to be there or be a part of the culture.

Witnessing and hearing about the specific ways this community is affected by oppression moved Adriana to take action.

Liz discussed how her moment of realization came when the issues were connected to and affecting people that she cared about:

> I think especially when I was working at the elementary school doing mentoring and tutoring. All of those kids were minorities, low SES status, you know. *I just got really angry* by their situations and how limited they are and how people are treating them or how I feel like people are going to treat them in the future. I feel like that kind of mainly, I cared about it because it was more human.

Liz's feeling of anger relates to Garland's (1988) study which found that anger was a motivating factor for many women activists. Liz's anger and connection to others moved her to take action.

Regardless of the specifics of the reason or moment, each of the participants had an experience or series of events that moved them to start taking action against oppression. The personal responsibility they felt to influence change was accompanied by a sense of urgency to do something because they felt they could no longer do nothing. These moments of realization were their biggest motivations for ally action.

Influence of Roommate/Living Arrangements

Many of the allies talked about their roommate and/or people in their community when they came to college as influential in their development. They attributed these relationships and environments as key factors in increasing their awareness of and experience with difference. Kiersten talked about how she was surrounded by more liberal people in her residence hall her first year and how this allowed her to be more openly accepting of people and concepts she did not feel comfortable openly embracing before coming to college. She reflected on living on campus her freshman year:

> I think having a community where there are more people accepting of different lifestyles, different sexualities, and forms of expressions definitely fostered an environment where I could be openly accepting of it.

Kiersten felt that she was open to different ideas before coming to college, but did not feel comfortable being openly accepting because of the conservative environment she was in. Kiersten felt that being around more liberal and accepting people allowed her to also be openly accepting.

Fernando talked about learning a lot about a different culture and religion because of his roommate his first year. Thierry also talked about how he was exposed to people from different backgrounds living in a residence hall his first year. Adriana said that she felt lucky to be a part of a community in her residence hall on campus because she was not ready for all that she would experience at UT-Austin and her on- campus community helped her meet different people who aided in her transition. When she reflected on her experience living on campus she said:

> Living in the dorms, knowing that I have a little community, it works to balance a huge university where you are all alone to a community and family that you can work with. I think that has been very helpful to me.

For Adriana, living on campus provided her with a community where she felt comfortable exploring new and difference ideas that she was not exposed to before coming to college. The level of support and connection she felt may not have been possible in other living arrangements.

Whether it was from exposure to difference that increased the participants comfort, acceptance and/or exposure, or feeling supported by friendships they established, living on campus and their roommate relationships were influential in the

development of many of the allies. This trend is supported by much of the literature discussed in Chapter 2.

Diversity of Friendship Group

During the second interview, the participants were asked to think about their friends that they interact with most often and to describe how diverse they are as a group, including what factors determine the level of diversity. All of the allies described their friendship groups as "diverse." When describing the factors that make their friendship groups diverse, the participants discussed race/ethnicity, religion, socioeconomic status, national origin, ability status, sexual orientation, family background, level of privilege, and experiences. Liz's description of her friendship group is representative of what many of the participants shared. She described:

> I think [my friends] are really diverse in a lot of ways. Diverse in where they were born, either international of in the US; and their race and ethnicities are diverse; and their cultural backgrounds are diverse; and the type of people they are…some are really intellectual and others who really don't care about school at all;…and people who are really super religious and people who are atheist or people who really don't think about religion at all. So I feel like my friends are very diverse and I feel really blessed that it's like that because I did not try to do that. With some of my friends I know we have talked about how they have grown up in a really different place and how cool it is that we were able to meet here and really connect on multiple levels, despite having many different experiences.

As Liz's reflection demonstrates, the participates recognized the diversity of the friendship groups based on multiple factors and saw the value in having relationships and connections with people who are different than themselves. Many of them, like Liz, pointed out that their friendship groups were diverse, but this was not the result of intentional decision, rather it happened based on who they connected with and developed a friendship.

The diversity of the friendship groups of the participants in this study is significant given the finding of Antonio's (2001) study on how casual and close friend relationships affect the development of cultural knowledge and understanding and the development of leadership skills. He concluded, "Frequent interracial interaction among students may be more important in developing cultural knowledge than involvement in formal activities such as cultural awareness workshops" (p. 593). Having a diverse group of friends was influential in the development of the allies in this study.

Coursework and Workshops Addressing Diversity-Related Topics

All of the participants in this study had taken at least one class or workshop on diversity-related topics while in college. Many of the allies including Kiersten, Vanessa, Fernando, Sanaa, Thierry, Adriana, and Liz, all sought out classes with diversity-related themes. The readings and concepts discussed in these courses were instrumental in the development of understanding privilege and oppression for many of the allies. Fernando talked about how he was affected by taking "Politics of Marginalized Groups" and Audrey reflected on a social psychology class about stereotypes that was very powerful for her. Audrey also said that "I changed my mind of what I wanted to do with my life because of multiple classes." Thierry's diversity-related classes were focused on advertising, media and rhetoric. Liz found the African American studies classes she took enjoyable. She said, "It was very real and interesting and not more lecture, boring and stuff. So I think that kind of influenced me because I started getting interested in more things." Diversity was also covered in many of Liz's social work courses.

The participants' reports on diversity-related workshops were less positive than their discussions of diversity coursework. While some allies, including Vanessa, Audrey,

Adriana, Tam, and Liz had positive experiences and results through attending diversity workshops, others, particularly Kiersten and Matthew, had been to many required trainings related to the organizations they were/are part of and felt that the diversity workshops on campus offered "nothing new" (Kiersten) and "you almost want to go up there and teach it yourself" (Matthew). Kiersten and Matthew both felt that many students have a negative impression of diversity training or workshops because "you're exposed to it all the time" (Matthew) and "we are preaching to the choir" (Kiersten). Kiersten and Matt both felt that participants in the workshops they attended were often at the same level of consciousness as they were, so there was no benefit or increase in understanding as a result of participation.

Student Affairs Programs and Staff

Despite Matthew and Kiersten's critical perspective on diversity workshops and training on campus, many of the participants discussed student affairs programs or staff members that were influential in their development as allies. Four of the participants (Fernando, Sanaa, Audrey, and Tam) highlighted the diversity monologues that are part of orientation for first year students as influential to their understanding diversity and social justice when they started college. The diversity monologues is a session that all orientation participants attend. Orientation Advisors present monologues that explain the experiences of under-represented or marginalized students on the UT-Austin campus. The participants that discussed it these monologues explained that this was a very moving and powerful experience. Fernando said that after hearing the diversity monologues, "I think that was the first time I considered doing any sort of work with diversity." The

influence this session had on Fernando motivated him to become an Orientation Advisor, which required him to take a class that advanced his understanding of social justice.

The fact that four participants highlighted an experience that they the summer before their first year of college—seeing the diversity monologues during orientation—is significant. Two of these four participants were seniors at the time of the interview, one was a junior and one was a sophomore. For these participants anywhere between almost two to four years had passed since they had seen the diversity monologues presented. However, they still highlighted this as an influential experience. To put this into perspective, imagine all that they had experienced in the two to four years of college since their first year summer orientation. These are also students who have been involved in social justice work and sought out opportunities to learn about difference. Yet, this diversity monologue session was still significant as they reflected on their experiences in college. The potential of the diversity monologue session to influence (or already be influencing students) is enormous because a vast majority of first year students attend summer orientation and see this presentation. Even if only a small proportion of the approximately 6,000 students who attend first year orientation each summer are influenced, the impact and potential for impact is significant.

In addition to the diversity monologues, the allies discussed how other student affairs related programs were influential in their development. The programs and services offered by the Gender and Sexuality Center (GSC) were important to Kiersten and Vanessa. Kiersten described more about programs offered through the GSC. She said:

> All of these things kind of open your eyes to the issues we are facing on our own campus and the push back facing our own campus for progress for women and LGBTQ [lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer] identified students.

The GSC programs helped Kiersten and Vanessa put larger issues into perspective because they were discussed within the context of the UT-Austin campus. This also made the issues more tangible and helped Kiersten and Vanessa see that they are able to affect change by taking action on their own campus.

For Audrey and Fernando, their participation in a student organization sponsored and advised by a student affairs office that works to reduce violence against women contributed to their understanding of relevant issues and their desire to take action. Audrey talked about one of the classes she took as part of this organization and explained:

> We made an entire list of all the things that people could be different on and it went all the way down to shoe size for difference. So it was when I started hearing people talk about the other ways that they see difference and diversity that I started to realize more about privilege and oppression.

As discussed previously, developing a complex understanding of privilege and oppression was something that all of the participants experienced. For Audrey her participation in this student organization began the development of that understanding. Fernando also gained knowledge and understanding through his participation in this student organization.

Fernando, Audrey and Sanaa were all working as Resident Assistants (RAs) at the time of the interviews. Matthew had also previously worked as an RA. All four of these allies discussed the diversity component of RA Training and their experience working as an RA as influential in their development as allies. Matthew described how being an RA and RA training affected him:

> So when I became an RA I was introduced to a very diverse group of people. I had to work for people that I had never really for before. I had to work within a system that was foreign to me. I had to do diversity training; I had to do job

> training. I had to do all of these things I wasn't accustomed to. That really helped me gain a knowledge I never really had before.

Matthew's description is representative of what the other participants who had worked as RAs described. The diversity training Matthew received was influential, but the entire experience of being an RA was also important in his development. Fernando, Audrey and Sanaa highlighted different aspects of the RA position that contributed to their development. They all discussed the value and influence the experiences had on them.

Tam, Thierry, Liz, and Adriana were all involved in programs within an office dedicated to supporting students of color at the time the interviews were conducted. These students attributed many of the relationships with people different than themselves and knowledge of others to their experiences within the office. Thierry explained

> The [name of office dedicated to supporting students of color] just houses all of these communities and it gives you exposure and insight into what is really happening across campus. You know just like institutional racism and how that operates and how they are challenged and things like that. So, it gave me exposure to all of that and I think it's great and it has contributed to the fabric of my experience here, probably the most out of a lot of the things I have done here on campus.

Thierry's description of what he learned, the discussions he had, and the relationships that he developed as the result of his work in this office were similar to what the other students associated with this office (Tam, Liz and Adriana) explained.

The participants also discussed other institutional resources that were influential in their development and experiences, but no other offices were common among the allies' stories. The diversity monologues during first year orientation, the programs officered through the Gender and Sexuality Center, participation in a particular student organization sponsored by a student affairs office, being a Resident Assistant, and

working in an office that is dedicated to supporting students of color were the common and outstanding experiences and influenced in the development of the allies in this study. The fact that these programs are administered by student affairs professionals shows that these offices and staff members are in a position to positively influence ally development.

In addition to programs and activities, the participants highlighted the work of many student affairs staff members that were particularly influential in their development. The names of these individuals will not be shared to further protect the anonymity of the participants. However, the reasons they were important to these allies will be shared. Fernando described three particularly important staff members. One was important to him because:

> I know that at one point I felt I needed to change the world, I felt there was so much that needed change and developed this attitude of I need to do something, I need to do something now, like activist times 10, and he [a Student Affairs staff person] was able to bring me down from my cloud. Again he was very guideful [sic] and very tactful in the way in which he did it, so we developed a great relationship.

Fernando's reflection shows that the student affairs staff member he had a connection with helped him funnel his energy and passion for change into more productive, intentional efforts. He also shared that the way this staff person approached him helped them develop a relationship which was very valuable to Fernando and helpful in his development.

Matthew discussed how he was supported in pursuing initiatives to increase service to a group of underrepresented students he was passionate about that were successful. He noted "I could not have done that without [names of Student Affairs staff redacted]. These are people that just said, 'Great idea, this is how you do it.' And they

supported me along the way." The student affairs staff members Matthew had a relationship provided guidance to help Matthew be effective in his ally work. This is similar to the type of support that Fernando received.

Other allies also received challenge and support from student affairs staff they had relationships with. Audrey talked about a student affairs staff person's influence and said "she challenges me every day to kind of think outside of the box and expand my horizons." The relationship Audrey has with a student affairs staff professional helped her expand her critical thinking skills and creativity in thinking about and responding to issues. Through her relationship with student affairs staff, Adriana received support and encouragement. Adriana talked about a close relationship she has with a senior-level administrator and explained that for students "it's been really helpful to know that there are staff members who care and are willing to guide them and give them opportunities and open doors for them." In addition to support, like Fernando and Matthew, Adrian found that she received guidance from student affairs staff. In contrast, Liz's relationship with a student affairs staff member offered her a level of discourse and dialogue different that what was possible with other students. Liz described a connection she has with a staff member and that she appreciated it because "I can have like really intellectual or political conversations about things that a lot of students don't know about." Liz's relationship with this staff person increased her level of knowledge and understanding in a way that was not possible through other relationships.

Whether it is through programs offered through units with the Division of Student Affairs, or through connection with staff members in Student Affairs, from the experiences of these allies it is clear that these programs and staff members are

contributing to the development of knowledge and ability, which contributed to the participants in this study being willing and able to take action against oppression. Of all the programs shown to be influential, the diversity monologues that are part of orientation for first year students is most promising because a vast majority of the students at UT-Austin participate in this during the summer before they begin at UT-Austin. It is positive to see the success of other programs, organizations and services offered by student affairs offices, but these programs involve much smaller numbers of students, as compared to orientation. Documenting more about how these diversity monologues are developed and presented will be a helpful tool for other universities to consider.

Experience with Diversity Compared to Other Students

The pre-interview questionnaire included a selection of diversity related questions from the National Survey on Student Engagement (NSSE). Table 2 provides a summary of the participants' responses to these questions with comparison numbers based on National data from institutions similar to UT-Austin. Although the participant group from this study is not large enough to statistically compare to the NSSE National results, Table 2 shows that responses for the participants in this study compared to peers at other institutions. The National comparison figures shown are based on Fall 2009 responses from full-time students classified as seniors at large (over 10,000 students), public universities with very high research activity (based on Carnegie Ratings). Comparing the participants in this study to the respondents from similar universities across the country is helpful in providing a general idea of the frequency these students participate in diversity-related activities and how they believe their college experiences have contributed to their development in diversity-related areas.

Reviewing the results for the participants in this study with the National comparison figures shows that participants in this study report rates of diversity-related experiences that may be higher to their peer comparison group. This comparison may also show that the participants in this study are more likely to contribute their development in various areas to their experiences during college.

Table 2

Summary of Participant Reponses with National Comparison

In your experience at the University of Texas at Austin during the current school year, about how often have you done each of the following:

		Never	Some-times	Often	Very Often
Included diverse perspectives (different races, religions, genders, political beliefs, etc.) in class discussions or writing assignments	UT Austin	0	0	4 (40%)	6(60%)
	National Comparison	8%	32%	32%	25%
Had serious conversations with students of a different race or ethnicity than your own	UT Austin	0	0	1 (10%)	9 (90%)
	National Comparison	9%	33%	28%	28%
Had serious conversations with students who are very different from you in terms of their religious beliefs, political opinions, or personal values	UT Austin	0	0	2(20%)	8 (80%)
	National Comparison	7%	32%	31%	29%
Tried to better understand someone else's views by imagining how an issue looks from his or her perspective	UT Austin	0	0	6 (60%)	4 (40%)
	National Comparison	4%	31%	39%	25%
Learning something that changed the way you understand an issue or concept	UT Austin	0	2 (20%)	4 (40%)	4 (40%)
	National Comparison	2%	30%	40%	26%

To what extent has your experiences at the University of Texas at Austin contributed to your knowledge, skills, and personal development in the following areas:

		Very Little	Some	Quite a bit	Very much
Thinking critically and analytically	UT Austin	0	1 (10%)	4 (40%)	5 (50%)
	National	1%	10%	35%	52%

	Comparison				
Working effectively with others	UT Austin	0	3 (30%)	3 (30%)	4 (40%)
	National Comparison	3%	18%	37%	41%
Understanding yourself	UT Austin	0	1 (10%)	3 (30%)	6 (60%)
	National Comparison	10%	25%	34%	29%
Understanding people of other racial and ethnic backgrounds	UT Austin	0	0	6 (60%)	4 (40%)
	National Comparison	11%	32%	33%	22%
Developing a personal code of values and ethics	UT Austin	0	1 (10%)	6 (60%)	3 (30%)
	National Comparison	14%	29%	31%	24%
Contributing to the welfare of your community	UT Austin	0	0	5 (50%)	5 (50%)
	National Comparison	17%	35%	29%	17%
Developing a deepened sense of spirituality	UT Austin	3 (30%)	5 (50%)	0	2 (20%)
	National Comparison	55%	23%	11%	9%

The National Comparison results were accessed using the NSSE Custom Report Generator.

Conclusion

This chapter highlighted the similarities between the allies' formative and college experiences. Before coming to college, many of the participants attended relatively diverse schools (in terms of race/ethnicity) and lived in equally diverse neighborhoods. All of the participants had experienced some form of oppression or challenge due to a marker of difference before coming to college. The values they were taught by family members were frequently discussed, but aside from being influential in their development, there were no common themes present in their family values. Some of the participants were exposed to negative views of diversity and difference while growing up, but were still able to have the experiences and develop the knowledge and skills necessary to become allies while in college. A majority of the allies reported that they were open to diversity and difference before coming to college, but all participants felt

that they had become more open during college. As they began to discuss college, it was clear that they were aware of the significant influence being in college had on them for various reasons. All of the participants developed a complex understanding of privilege and oppression while in college.

Many of the allies experienced a specific moment of realization about the presence and effects of oppression and felt a sense of urgency to do something about it once they realized it. They were moved to take action by their experience(s). All of the participants reported that they had friendship groups that were very diverse based on various factors. All of the allies had also participated in at least one diversity-related course or workshop. During the interviews, the participants discussed many student affairs programs and staff members that were influential in their development as allies. One particularly influential experience was seeing the diversity monologues presented during orientation the summer before their first year in college. This experience has a lasting influence and has the potential to affect many students because the vast majority of incoming students attend orientation and see this presentation. The final section of this chapter involved reviewing the participants as a group and their responses to diversity-related questions from National Survey of Student Engagement in comparison to students at similar institutions. This comparison did not test for statistical significance, but provided a general comparison in how the participants in this study may compare to their peers at other institutions with characteristics similar to UT-Austin.

The following chapter will analyze the allies' motivations and actions and how these are influenced by several factors including their personal values, gender, experiences, relationships and developmental status as an ally.

Chapter 6: Influences on Ally Motivations and Actions

Introduction

As Chapters 4 and 5 highlighted, the formative and college experiences of the participants in this study were essential in their development as allies. This chapter will examine how the participants' values, gender, experiences, relationships and developmental status as an ally influenced their motivations and actions as allies. Identifying how motivations and actions vary reinforces the idea that students from diverse backgrounds engage in taking action against oppression for various reasons in multiple ways. Showing the diversity that exists among these participants may help student affairs professional recognize and support students who are potential allies, regardless of their background and social identities.

Ally Motivations

Throughout the interviews the participants talked about what motivates them to take action against oppression. During these discussions, the allies reflected on their personal values, experiences, and relationships. Although it was not specifically discussed in the interviews, analysis of their motivations revealed differences in their inspirations related to their gender and developmental status as an ally.

Influence of Personal Values

As discussed in Chapter 2 there are various factors that can act as motivators or barriers in the ally development process. Many of the motivators identified in previous literature and this study are related to the personal values of allies. As Chapter 5

highlighted, some of the allies' motivations for taking action were based in spiritual beliefs.

Kiersten talked about how her spiritual values motivate her:

> It's wrong to treat people wrong; you just love your neighbor as yourself, just that as the creed…This flows into human rights and respecting people and giving them what they deserve as a human being. So, like I said, I can't think of necessarily one moment because I have always had the desire to just in little ways to make sure people are treated right and treated fairly.

The spiritual values Kiersten was taught growing up influenced her to develop personal values that reflected the importance of human rights, equity and fairness. Kiersten's explanation shows how her personal values are rooted in spiritual values.

Thierry's personal values were also rooted in spiritual values in a connection to God. Thierry discussed the obligation he felt "when you recognize your God-given talents and, not to be cliché, to change the world or do something with my life, or make those God-given talents meaningful or impactful." As shown in this quote, Thierry felt that he had been provided with talents and gifts by God and he felt an obligation to use these to make a difference. Thierry also reflected on his purpose and how to begin to fulfill that:

> I believe everyone has a purpose in this life and it's like, "What am I going to achieve or what I am going to add?" because this [oppression] is an issue that affects everyone. So I figured a college campus is definitely a good place to start tackling the issues before going out into the world.

In addition to using his talents, Thierry recognized that it would be easier to take action against oppression on a college campus than elsewhere. Thierry also explained how he felt a personal responsibility to do his part in acting against oppression.

> My motivations for taking action is giving those that are oppressed a voice. There is so much suffering and it is going to continue, but you definitely have to fight it however you can and everyone has specific roles in the fight for it.

Thierry's reflections show that he felt personal responsibility and obligation to use his talents and gifts to take action against oppression. These feelings are rooted in deeply held personal values.

Just as Thierry found motivation in reflecting on his purpose in life, Liz had a similar experience. Liz talked about her purpose and reflected, "I guess it's more passion in what I believe is right and the right way to live and to strive for. Like something worthy of living for. I want to have purpose even if no one else recognizes it." Similar to Kiersten, Liz also discussed her motivations being based in spiritual values. She reflected on how her parents taught her the importance of acceptance and love and how her motivations come from "a concern for others, a desire to see people be fully who they are. I think that's what love is, allowing people to be who they are." Liz strongly values love, which is rooted in her spiritual values. This belief in the importance of love for every person motivates Liz to take action against oppression.

In contrast to Liz, Thierry, and Kiersten, Sanaa and some of the other allies had personal values that motivated them to take action, but these personal values were not rooted in religion. Sanaa developed personal values based on her experiences and observations of how others are treated. She discussed her motivations for ally action and explained, "It's just something that naturally occurs and you just feel compelled to say something about it [oppression/injustice]." Sanaa also talked about how seeing ignorance and seeing people being treated unfairly motivates her to take action. She said "I'm always a fair person and I emphasize fairness. To me all people are on the same level." This demonstrates Sanaa's focus on the importance of and her personal value of equality.

Adriana also developed motivation for ally action based on her personal values. Adriana found motivation because of how strongly she values human rights and equality. She described:

> Just knowing there is so much going on in this world that's wrong that shouldn't happen in the first place, that's my biggest motivation. Knowing that we all have the same rights, there is no gap for difference regardless of your ability, your race, what you have doesn't mean that we shouldn't all have the same human rights. So when I find something like that is going on, when they are violating human rights that just triggers something inside, it just drives me to want to do something about it.

This demonstrates the personal responsibility Adriana feels when she witnesses violations of human rights. Adriana, like Sanaa, found motivation to take action against oppression because of her personal values. Tam, Liz, Thierry, and Kiersten were also motivated by personal values, but these were rooted in religious values.

As discussed in Chapter 5, many of the allies were also motivated to take action once they realized the effects of oppression and felt that they had to do something about it. Once they had this moment of realization they no longer felt comfortable doing nothing to affect change. Fernando said that he felt. "I need to do something; I need to do something now." The obligation to take action was a strong motivator for many of the allies which reflects their values about personal responsibility, civility, equity and human rights.

Influence of Personal Experiences

Personal values are shaped in large part by what a person has experienced. As discussed in Chapter 5, all of the participants had experienced oppression or difficulty due to marker of difference before coming to college. For example, Vanessa described the tension she felt because of her biracial identity. She said, "Sometimes I feel that I am

not Hispanic enough for my Hispanic family and not white enough for white family." Vanessa experienced this challenge due to a marker of difference. Although the allies did not specifically discuss how the challenges they experienced motivated or influenced their ally actions, it is important to keep in mind this commonality of experience. In addition to all having experiences with oppression, the allies also had all participated in one or more diversity-related course or workshop while in college. Many of them were also affected by student affairs programs and/or staff members. Some of the allies also discussed how they learned about difference from their roommate and/or living on campus. The ways these experiences influenced the allies are discussed in depth in Chapter 5.

Kiersten and Sanaa both reflected on how their experiences motivated them to take action as an ally. Kiersten said, "Seeing the kinds of things I've seen or reading the types of things I have read, to not take action and not be motivated to take action, its simply sad for human existence." Because of the experiences she had and knowledge and understanding she developed, Kiersten felt it would be wrong to not take action. This reflects a sense of personal responsibility and obligation that many of the other allies also discussed.

Sanaa also reflected on her motivations, which directed related to her experiences. She said:

> It's just a combination of what I have experienced, what my friends have experienced. Seeing how people with less knowledge of social injustices, how they're perceived by people, how people react to them and things like that. That kind of stirred by motivations, just treatment of others.

Sanaa's observations of how others are treated led her to feel responsibility to take action to affect change. The variety of the experiences that led to motivation to take action for

the participants in this study serves as a reminder of the fact that there are multiple pathways of influence and choices in becoming a social justice ally.

Influence of Relationships

The values the participants developed and the experiences they had would not have happened without them developing meaningful relationships with others. Chapter 5 highlighted how the participants consistently described their friendship groups as very diverse and how all of the allies became more open to difference after starting college. Being more open and knowing people with backgrounds different than their own allowed the participants to develop relationships with others who influenced their motivation to take action against oppression.

Matthew described how his relationships with peers at school influenced his motivations for ally action:

> My motivation has to do with the things that hurt the most and there is nothing that hurts more than seeing a buddy of mine who has Down's syndrome walking down a hallway and having his peers call him a retard over and over again. And I've been in that hallway and I've seen that kid and that's forever in my mind.

Matthew's friendship with a person with a developmental disability motivated him to take action against ableism. Through his relationship with a friend with Down's syndrome, Matthew saw firsthand how often his friend was called names and how that affected his friend. These images and experiences motivated Matthew to take action against ableism.

Audrey talked about how hearing people's stories and helping them find their voice motivates her:

> Because you can learn the stats and you can go through the motions, but when you actually sit back and put on a program where people tell their story and

> people get their voice back and you hear about how it personally affects people on multiple levels, not just the person who experienced it, but their friends and family who are also affected, it's the most powerful thing ever and that's what motivates me to work against it.

For Audrey, seeing that sexual assault and domestic violence affects the survivor, as well as their friends and family, motivated her to take action against violence against women. It was seeing the relationships between the survivor and others and how everyone was affected that was a catalyst for action for Audrey.

Fernando talked about how the other allies he works with motivate him:

> I think my biggest motivation is the people I work with…it is a lot of hard work, it is very time consuming and emotionally draining. So I think the motivation comes from the groups of people…we all understand the path we went through to get there, the stories we had to witness, the things we had to do, the conversations that needed to happen, in order for us to really understand what is happening. I think that is my motivation when other people are willing to put in as much as I have in the work we do.

Fernando found motivation in his relationship and connection to other allies. The group Fernando is referring to is a student organization focused on raising awareness of relationship violence, sexual assault and stalking. The members of this student organization participate in several hours of training where they are exposed to various stories and issues to challenge themselves and increase their awareness of topics related to various forms of relationship or sexual violence. Knowing how much work he personally did and how challenging the development he went through was motivates Fernando to continue in his ally actions.

Although the way the relationship influenced the ally and the types of influential relationships varied, Matthew, Audrey and Fernando, all shared descriptions of a common theme in these participants' stories—relationships matter. The relationships these allies have influenced their motivation to take action against oppression. As

described in Chapter 5, the participants' relationships with friends were also influential in them increasing their awareness of and knowledge about oppression and difference.

As discussed in Chapter 5, many of the allies were also motivated to take action when they realized how oppression affects everyone. Their moments of realization were most often related to seeing someone they have a close relationship with who experienced significant challenges due to oppression. These relationships helped the participants observe and understand oppression in a new way, motivating them to take action. For some of the allies, their relationships with student affairs professionals were also influential in their development as allies.

Influence of Gender

In her analysis of women activists, Garland (1988) found "a commitment to change and to being part of the change. It all comes down to what every woman activist in this book says, in one form or another: 'I had to do something.'" (p. xviii). This sentiment was also expressed by almost all of the female participants in this study and one male participant, Fernando. In discussing their moment of realization (see Chapter 5), many of the female allies expressed a sense of urgency in needing to do something about oppression, once they realized how it affected others. There were no significant differences between women and men in terms of their motivations. All of the participants were influenced by their personal values, experiences, and relationships to take action. How these factors influenced the allies varied, regardless of gender.

As will be discussed in a following section, the influence of gender was more related to the types of actions than the motivations for action for the participants in this study. Although there was difference in the types of actions based on gender, it was

surprising that the influence of gender was not apparent in differences between male and female motivations for ally actions. It was expected that female allies would be more likely to be motivated to take action out of care or concern for others and in an effort to nurture and provide for others. This was not seen in this group of participants, as was expected.

Developmental Status as Ally

Edward's (2006) identity development model of aspiring social justice allies, which was discussed in Chapter 2, presents three development statuses of allies-aspiring ally for self-interest, aspiring ally for altruism, and ally for social justice. Table 4 below presents a comparison of these statuses of ally development with intercultural sensitivity stages developed by Bennett (2006). Edwards described different motivations and levels of effectiveness in action for each type of aspiring ally or ally. Without an assessment tool to determine the ally's developmental status, it is difficult to definitively label their status. However, there are defining characteristics that do allow some differentiation. Based on the participants self reports, it is unlikely that any of them would be identified as aspiring allies for self-interest because a defining characteristic of this status is not viewing oppression as systemic. In their discussion of their understanding of privilege and oppression, all of the participants discussed the systemic influences that result in inequitable levels of privilege and oppression based on social group memberships. It is also unlikely that any of the participants in this study are aspiring allies for altruism because defining factors of this status are seeing target group members as the victims of oppression, not everyone, and attempting to be the "hero" for targeted groups. Aspiring

allies for altruism are also described as becoming allies because of the guilt associated with becoming aware of one's unearned privilege.

Although it is possible that some of the participants' unconscious motivations have to do with their level or guilt and/or a desire to be a hero, there was nothing any of the participants shared that would indicate that their motivations are based on self-interest or altruism. All of the participants identified motivations that were related to wanting to make change to benefit everyone. They also described their motivations in ways that showed they did not reflect paternalistic views of targeted populations as victims. Therefore, the motivations expressed during the interviews with participants reflect perspectives in line with allies for social justice, as described by Edwards (2006). It is important to analyze the underlying motivations of the participants to insure that this was a study of allies for social justice and not aspiring allies.

Table 3 Stages of Ally Development (Edwards, 2006)

with Intercultural Sensitivity Stages (Bennett, 2006)

	Aspiring Ally for Self-Interest	Aspiring Ally for Altruism	Ally for Social Justice
	Defense/Reversal	Minimization	Acceptance
Motivation	Selfish-for the people I know and care about	Other-I do this for them	Combined Selfishness-I do this for us
Ally to…	Ally to a person	Ally to a target group	Ally to an issue
Relationship with Members of Oppressed Group	Working *over* members of the target group	Working *for* members of the target group	Working *with* members of the target group
Victims of Oppression	Individuals with personal connections are or could be victims-my daughter, sister, friend	They are victims	All of us are victims-although victimized in different ways and unequally
Focus of Problem	Individuals-Overt perpetrators	Others from the agent group	System
View of Justice	These incidents of hate are exceptions to the system of justice	We need justice for them	We need justice for all
Spiritual or Moral Foundation	I may be simply following doctrine or seeking spiritual self-preservation	I believe helping others is the right thing to do	I seek to connect and liberate us all on spiritual and moral grounds
Power	I'm powerful-protective	I empower them-they need my help	Empower us all
Source of Outgoing Motivation	Motivator (my daughter, sister, friend) must be present	-Depends on the acceptance/praise from others -Easily derailed by critique by other -Often leads to burn out	Sustainable passion-for me, us, the future
Mistakes	I don't make mistakes-I'm a good person and perpetrators are just bad people	Difficulty admitting mistakes to self or others-struggles with critique of exploring own issues; highly defensive when confronted with own behavior	Seeks critique as gifts and admits mistakes; accepted own bias(es) and seeks help in uncovering them
Relationship to the System	Not interested in the system-stop bad people	Aims to be exception from the system, but ultimately perpetuates the system	Seeks to escape, impede, amend and redefine the system
Focus of Work	Perpetrators	Other members of dominant group	My people-doesn't separate self from other agents
Privilege	Doesn't see privilege-wants to maintain status quo	Feels guilt about privilege and tries to distance self from privilege	Sees illumination of privilege as liberating and consciously uses unearned privilege against itself

Ally Actions

Participants in this study became motivated to take action against oppression for many reasons. Once motivated, they began to take action against oppression. This section examines the actions of the allies and how they were influenced by various factors including the allies' values, experiences, relationships, gender and developmental status as an ally.

Influence of Personal Values, Experiences, and Relationships

Although values, experiences and relationships all had a significant influence on the allies motivations, these factors were not as influential on their actions. Table 5 below provides a summary of the ally actions of the participants. For example, Matthew seeing his friend with Down's syndrome frequently teased motivated him to take action because of his relationship and care for his friend. However, this relationship with his friend did not affect the types of actions he took against ableism. Instead, Matthew found out the causes of ableism and took steps to develop effective ways to change the cause. Matthew's friend influenced his motivation to take action, but not the type of action he took. It could be reasonably assumed that the personal values of the allies did influence the types of actions allies felt were necessary and effective, but this was not explicitly discussed by the participants. The allies more often discussed how their values influenced them to realize that they needed to take action, but decisions on the type of action were more related to the type of oppression, the position of the ally, and their level of access to resources and/or people who could affect change.

The participants' experiences were also a strong motivator for taking action, but did not have a strong influence on the type of actions. Some of the participants

experiences as allies did help them identify the level of effectiveness of certain actions may have, which influenced the type of actions they took later on, but since many of allies had recently just started to take action, they did not have these experiences to inform decisions.

Finally, the relationships the participants had with others did influence their actions as allies. It was often through relationships with friends or family members that these allies started to speak out against oppression. It was also through relationships that allies were able to make connections to help them affect change. Unfortunately, the participants in this study did not identify any role models or mentors who they had seen take action for change. However, some of the allies had relationships with student affairs staff members who challenged them, helped them develop effective methods to influence change, and provided information on how to accomplish their goals.

While the participants' actions were influenced to varying degrees by their values, experiences, and relationships, the influence of gender on the type of actions was significant.

Table 4 Summary of Ally Actions

Ally Name	Focus of ally actions	Ally Actions
Matthew	Ableism	Raising awareness of disabilities, establishing a pedestrian navigation company, fundraising and establishing an endowment
Thierry	Awareness of privilege/social justice	Providing marketing coordination and graphic design to student organizations to promote events and raise awareness of issues
Tam	Classism and Heterosexism	Raising awareness of heterosexism and recognizing behaviors or comments that reflect classist assumptions and drawing attention to this to create discourse
Sanaa	Classism and awareness of privilege/social justice	Coordinating and presenting educational programs about privilege, speaking up
Liz	Equity for all	Working with a student organization to present programs about various social justice issues and role modeling inclusiveness
Audrey	Heterosexism and Sexism	Planning educational programs to raise awareness of issues related to heterosexism and sexism
Vanessa	Heterosexism	Attending protests and demonstrations, serving on a committee that plans celebratory events for the GLBTQA community, maintaining a private blog that identifies her as an ally to offer support to members of the GLBTQA community
Fernando	Sexism/Violence against women	Planning events to raise awareness of the effects of domestic violence and using interactions with other students to educate them about how their language or actions may harm or hurt others
Kiersten	Sexism/African American Women	Listening, learning, and observing and providing support in any way African American women identify as helpful in promoting sexual health and reproductive freedom in their community
Adriana	Undocumented residents and students	Lobbying during legislative session, starting non-profit and student organizations related to human rights or civil rights issues, working with undocumented immigrants

Influence of Gender

Although the motivations of the allies did not appears to be influenced by gender, their actions and descriptions of their ally actions show differences based on gender. The

following section highlights how gender influenced the allies' actions and her/his description of these actions.

The majority of the female participants in this study described their ally actions as supporting or encouraging members of oppressed groups and/or collaborating with others to affect change. When asked about her actions as an ally, Liz discussed her leadership position in a student organization focused on equity and diversity. She talked about the goals of the organization and the types of actions they had taken. Her descriptions focused on the actions being a collective effort of the group, not her individual role in the process, although she is one of the officers for the organization. Liz also talked about her personal actions and said, "I think the biggest thing is not easy to pinpoint, but is the way I live, the way I believe, and the way I tell people those things, that I talk about it." She went on to describe her friendships and relationships with others and how she most often discusses her perspective with those with whom she shares a close connection. Adriana discussed "encouraging others to go against the stereotype and not let oppression define them, but more allow that to be a motivation to empower themselves." Adriana also discussed how she has started organizations, lobbied legislature, and has been involved in the community by mentoring youth. All of these actions are based on establishing relationships with others to make change and she, like Liz, also focused on the collaborative nature of her work.

Audrey said "I definitely call people out and get them to realize that what they say actually has an impact on people around them and in ways they don't probably understand either." This approach shows that Audrey tries to affect change by helping others empathize and realize how they are connected. Audrey also talked about her

position as a Resident Assistant and in a student organization and how she uses these roles to educate others. Sanaa explained how she speaks up in conversation and tries to bring attention to multiple perspectives on issues. Her relationship with others is what allows her to take these types of action. She also talked about how she used her position as a Resident Assistant to provide educational opportunities about oppression to other students. Vanessa discussed her private blog that identifies herself as an ally and how this has allowed her to develop relationships with people who identify as gay, lesbian, bisexual, or transgender, and support them through difficult times. Vanessa also discussed attending demonstrations, serving on committees and speaking up in class when alternative viewpoints are not respected or considered. Kiersten discussed how she takes action to raise awareness and also explained:

> I have tried my best to get involved with the African American community to help identify and support their needs because they are not well-represented or recognized on campus. I have done that by studying, learning, and observing.

Kiersten's approach is more passive and based on connecting with an under-represented community.

As shown in the examples above, the female participants' actions were focused on support, encouragement and relationships. They also highlighted the collective or collaborative nature of their work. In contrast, the male participants tended to describe their individual actions with less focus on the connection with others. Matthew discussed his role in fundraising and establishing an endowment to benefit students affected by an issue he is passionate about. He acknowledged that others were supportive of the initiative, but focused more on his personal contributions more than the female participants did. When Matthew mentioned that another student helped him, he pointed

out “again, I never asked for his help”, making it clear that the assistance was provided without being requested. The reluctance to ask others for help or acknowledge the collaborative nature of work is not surprising when considered with the framework provided by Chodorow (1999) and Gilligan (1982) discussed in Chapter 2. Matthew also talked about how his relationships with other student leaders and administrators on campus have allowed him to affect change.

Thierry discussed how he used his skills and talents to help with programs and raising awareness of different issues and events. Thierry’s description of his actions against oppression was, like Matthew, focused on his personal contributions. Fernando talked about his biggest contributions being related to taking action to stop sexual assault. He also said that in his position as a Resident Assistant “I talk to residents, I call them out, I question them…that is why I feel like I make a difference.” Fernando’s description of his action, while referencing interactions with others more than Thierry and Matthew, frequently used the term “I”, whereas many of the females more commonly used the term “we” when they described ally actions. This reinforces that the females were more focused on the collaborative nature of their ally actions, in contrast to the males who were more focused on personal contributions.

The interview question specifically asked “What actions have you taken against oppression?” Therefore, it is not surprising that Thierry, Fernando and Matthew focused on their personal actions. However, the reluctance of females to focus solely on their personal actions without acknowledging the connection to and contribution of others again supports the theories of Chodorow (1999) and Gilligan (1982).

Differences in the types of ally actions the participants took and how they describe them does not reflect a distinction in the effectiveness, motivations or developmental status of the allies. Rather, this can be seen as another influence of the pervasive socialization to which we are all subject. Even males and females who have become cognizant of the system that reinforces the norms of male and female behavior are still affected by them, most likely without realization.

Developmental Status as Ally

Edwards (2006) described aspiring allies for self-interest as "unlikely to confront over acts of oppression when the people they care about are not present" (p. 46). Although relationships were important motivators for many of these allies taking action, the actions the participants described moved beyond this developmental status as an aspiring ally for self-interest. Edwards also explained that aspiring allies for altruism may try to distance themselves from other members of dominant group(s). The participants in this study understood that they needed to work with people from both dominant and target groups in order to be effective allies, again showing they are allies for social justice and not aspiring allies. As Kiersten described:

> I think too one of the most powerful things too is the silence of allies. If I simply stand there and I say I am a white heterosexual woman who is for the LGBTQ cause that speaks volumes to other white heterosexuals.

This demonstrates Kiersten understanding that her role as an ally can allow her to make connections with people similar to herself, in an effort to change their perception or understanding of oppression.

It is important to remember that these developmental statuses as allies are fluid and "the ally for social justice status is an aspirational identity one must continually work

towards" (Edwards, 2006, p. 53). Two of the participants, Kiersten and Liz, made direct comments which showed that they understand the aspirational nature of the term social justice ally. When given the definition of a social justice ally and asked if they would describe themselves as allies, both Kiersten and Liz were uncomfortable answering that question. Liz said "Well I do see that [the definition], but I also hesitate to say yes because that just sounds like some heroic thing and I don't feel heroic in any way. I feel like I'm just doing what I feel like I'm supposed to be doing." Liz's discomfort with labeling herself as an ally shows that she has moved beyond being an aspiring ally for altruism. Kiersten's statement also spoke to her level of understanding as an ally. She said, "With the term ally, I think it is sometimes hard because, especially for me, the term ally means someone who doesn't champion the cause, but someone who stands side by side with the cause and takes direction." Kiersten went on to explain the importance of listening to people that are members of targeted groups and being their support in the ways that they identify as most helpful. This demonstrates that Kiersten understands that being an ally is about working *with* people affected by oppression, not *for* subordinate groups.

Although the other participants did not make statements to directly indicate their developmental status as an ally, their actions and the descriptions from their peers about their actions, show that they are social justice allies. They took action to change the system that creates oppression in ways that were meaningful and effective. They avoided actions or viewpoints that would further perpetuate oppression and demonstrated that they had moved beyond aspiring ally statuses.

Conclusion

This chapter described how allies' motivations and actions are influenced by their values, experiences, relationships, gender and developmental status as an ally. Personal values, experiences, and relationships all had a strong influence on the participants' motivations as allies. While gender influenced the participants' motivations, the influence of gender was much more significant on the types of actions allies took and how they described their actions. Based on their self-reports at the time of the interviews, all indications show that the participants in this study were allies for social justice and had developed beyond the aspiring allies statuses described by Edwards (2006).

The following chapter will discuss the summary of findings for this study, in addition to the theoretical implications. Contributions to the research literature, implications of policy and practice, limitations and suggestions for future research will also be presented.

Chapter 7: Discussion and Conclusion

Findings Summary

The participants in this study were students who were identified as social justice allies by their peers. The ten allies were from diverse backgrounds and took action against different types of oppression. A majority of the participants attended relatively diverse schools and lived in equally diverse neighborhoods before college, with the exception of one white ally who came from a predominately white environment and one Hispanic ally who came from was from a predominately Hispanic community. All of the allies had experienced challenge due to a marker of difference or oppression before coming to college. The participants were all influenced by the values they were taught by their families, although the family values each of them discussed were markedly diverse from one another. Seven of the ten participants reported that they were relatively open to diversity and difference before coming to college. All of the allies felt that their levelness of openness to difference had increased while in college.

Many of the participants recognized the overall influence college had on them. The influence of college included developing a complex understanding of privilege and oppression through experiences, relationships, coursework and/or student affairs programs. All of the participants saw themselves as both privileged and oppressed, due to various social group memberships. The majority of the allies had a moment of realization about the system of oppression and felt a sense of personal responsibility to do something to affect change when they realized it. Another significant commonality was that all of the participants reported having very diverse friendship groups and discussed a multiplicity of factors that contributed to the diversity. While in college all of the

participants had taken at least one diversity-related course or workshop and many had participated in more than one. The allies also identified student affairs programs and staff who were influential in their development. On the pre-interview questionnaire (Appendix E), participants reported that they had "often" or "very often" engaged in specific diversity-related activities during the current school year. They also attributed their development in various areas to their experience at UT-Austin.

When examined collectively, it was clear that the experiences, values, and relationships of all participants influenced their motivation as allies. The participants' gender did not significantly influence the motivations of allies, but had a strong influence on the types of ally actions and how the participants discussed their actions. Reviewing the actions and motivations of the participants within the framework provided by Edwards (2006) showed that they are likely allies for social justice and not aspiring allies, although no formal assessment to determine their development status as an ally was used.

Theoretical Implications

This study was developed using several theories from the literature. The four theories most closely related were reexamined to determine if the findings of this study validate, extend, or contradict the theories or models.

Cycle of Socialization (Harro, 2000a)

The Cycle of Socialization is shown in Figure 1 on page 48 and discussed on pages 47-49. The stories of the allies in this study validate this model. The information the participants shared about the values they were taught growing up demonstrates the First Socialization phase discussed by Harro (2000a). When the participants shared their experiences with oppression they were describing types of discrimination and being

stigmatized, which are shown as Enforcements in the Harro (2000a) model. The emotions the allies expressed feeling before developing a complex understanding of privilege and oppression were aligned with the feelings described in the Core by Harro- fear, ignorance, confusion and insecurity. The participants talked about times when they were afraid to speak up (fear), instances when they did not know (ignorance and/or confusion), and feeling uncomfortable or unable to confront things (insecurity) before their development as allies. For example, Liz reflected on her experiences as an AmeriCorps volunteer and the challenges the students she worked with faced. She was unable to start taking action as an ally at this point because she did not yet understand the systemic nature of privilege and oppression (ignorance and/or confusion). She said "those ideas about privilege and the system of oppression that affects all of our lives were able to be articulated because of the classes I took at UT." Her coursework at UT-Austin let her move past the core of ignorance or confusion and into the Cycle of Liberation. The point in the cycle that Harro (2000a) described as Direction for Change describes the "moments of realization" the participants in this study had which led to them beginning to take action against oppression.

Cycle of Liberation (Harro, 2000b)

Figure 6 below presents Harro's (2000b) Cycle of Liberation with the types of ally experiences discussed in the previous chapters highlighted. Review of this figure demonstrates the various ways that the participants' experiences follow the cycle. Looking at the allies' stories along with the Cycle of Liberation outlines the pathway that many social justice allies, even those with diverse backgrounds, may follow. Past

research has not linked social justice allies with the Cycle of Liberation, but this is a helpful tool in understanding many aspects of the ally development process.

It is helpful to use the Cycle of Liberation to show how the students moved through this cycle as they progressed toward becoming allies. Harro's (2000b) cycle shows the starting point as Waking Up, which is defined as a "critical incident that creates cognitive dissonance" (p. 463). The participants in this study had a "moment of realization" similar to what Harro describes as Waking Up. The next part in this Cycle is Getting Ready. The allies in this study got ready by taking diversity related courses/ workshops, hearing stories from friends, attending student affairs programs, and starting to develop a complex understanding of privilege and oppression. The next part of the Cycle is Reaching Out. The participants in this study accomplished that by seeking out different classes and workshops, and having different experiences. Next in the Cycle is Building Community. Allies in this study started to building community by developing diverse friendship groups and joining student organizations based on their interests. Coalescing in the next phase in the Cycle of Liberation. The participants in this study coalesced when they began to take action as allies. The next step in the Cycle involves Creating Change. For the allies this was accomplished by taking on leadership roles in student organizations, accepting work positions which allowed them to expand the scope of influence, and connecting with student affairs staff members who develop policies and programs.

The final stage in the Cycle is Maintaining which involves "integrating; spreading hope and inspiration; living our dreams; modeling authenticity; integrity and wholeness; taking care of self and others" (Harro, 2000b, p. 463). The allies maintained by telling

their story, encouraging others, continuing in leadership positions that allowed them to role model, and being careful not to take on too much. The Core of the Cycle of Socialization is self-love, self-esteem, balance, joy, support, security, and spiritual base. As discussed previously, some of the allies' motivations were based on spiritual values, which is related to the core. The participants in this study demonstrated they had self-esteem because they had the courage to speak out and take action, which implies a level of confidence. The allies discussed the support they had from friends, family and student affairs professionals. They also demonstrated that they had balance because they were able to do well in their classes, while also working and/or being leaders in student organizations.

The steps in the Cycle of Liberation (Harro, 200b) were also supported by the findings of Garland (1988) in her study of women activists. She described the steps the women she worked took:

> According to the women of this book, identifying the problem and its causes is the first step toward activism. After talking and listening comes education-education oneself and the community about the issues. Becoming an expert and establishing credibility are closely associated with this process, and they become foundations for action. Disillusionment with government and other institutions that women expect will act in their behalf is targeted as a necessary part of the process that transforms docile, concerned citizens into political activists. Making connections, finding allies, and creating coalitions are bulwarks for activism. (p. xx)

These steps align with the Cycle of Liberation presented by Harro.

Aligning the experiences of the allies in this study with the phases of the Cycle of Liberation expands the understanding of the ally development process and demonstrates the usefulness of this model.

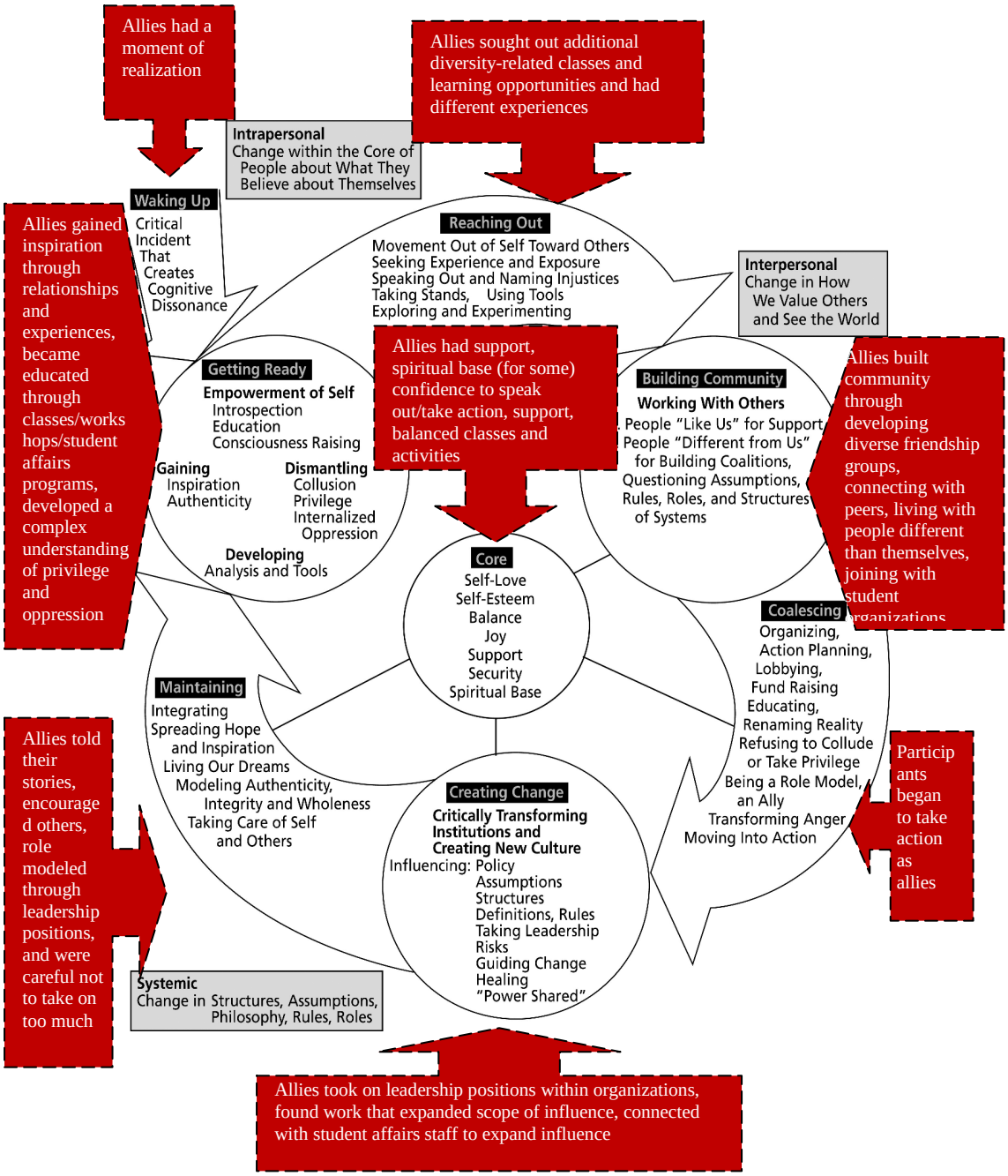


Figure 6 The Cycle of Liberation (Harro, 2000b) with Ally Experiences

Source of Original Model: Harro, B. (2000b). The cycle of liberation. In M. Adams, W. J. Blumenfeld, R. Castaneda, H. W. Hackman, M. L. Peters, and X. Zuniga (Eds.) *Readings for diversity and social justice* (pp. 463-469). New York: Routledge.

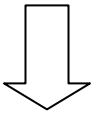
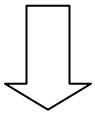
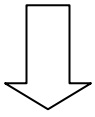
Model of College Student Ally Development (Broido, 1997, 2000)

The pioneering work of Broido (1997, 2000) on the development of college student social justice allies was an important starting point in understanding the experiences and processes that may contribute to students becoming social justice allies. Because of the limited amount of research available on social justice allies, additional related literature was used to identify other factors that may be related to the development of allies. Additional factors explored included the student's level of openness to diversity before and during college, factors related to social justice interest and readiness, institutional context, the role of student affairs professional and programs in developing allies, the influence of gender, and the student's developmental status as an ally.

Examination of these additional factors allowed for an extended understanding of Broido's Model of College Student Ally Development (1997, 2000). Table 5 below presents Broido's model with additional factors that form an extended understanding of the model. As shown, in addition to the factors Broido identified, all of the participants in this study had also experienced oppression or challenge due to a marker of difference before coming to college. Broido identified subjects that potential allies gained increased information about which were centered around oppression. Because of the complex understanding of oppression and privilege the allies in this study developed, the understanding of this increased information stage was extended to include gaining increased information about oppression *and privilege*, and target *and dominant* group members. The sources of information for allies in this study included many identified by Broido, but the participants in this study also gained information from student affairs staff/programs, and/or volunteer or work experience. The participants in this study made

meaning of the increased information in ways similar to what Broido discussed. Finally, Broido described how students were recruited to ally behavior through invitation and/or an expectation of a role. The student allies in this study did not discuss being invited or expected to take action. Instead, they discussed experiencing a moment of realization and feeling a sense of personal responsibility (based on their values, experiences and/or relationship) to take action.

Table 5 Model of College Student Ally Development Extended (original based on Broido, 1997, 2000)

	Broido Model of College Student Ally Development	Extended Understanding
Potential Ally… 	With self-confidence that allows her/him to acknowledge her/his unearned privilege due to dominant group status	With self-confidence that allows her/him to acknowledge her/his unearned privilege due to dominant group status, *who has experienced oppression before college*
Increased Info About… 	4) how system of oppression operates and continues 5) Impact of oppression on target group members 6) Oppression in general	1. How system of oppression operates and continues 2. Impact of oppression on target group members *and dominant group members* 3. *Privilege and* oppression in general 4. *The complexity of privilege and oppression*
Information gained from… 	courses, target group members, dominant group peers, residence life staff, independent reading and/or travel	Courses, target group members, dominant group peers, *student affairs staff/programs, volunteer or work experience,*
Meaning Making of Increased Info Through… 	discussion, perspective-taking and/or self-reflection	Discussion, perspective-taking and/or self-reflection
Recruitment to Ally Action through…	invitation and/or expectation of role (such as teaching assistant and/or resident assistant)	*Moment of realization and feeling of personal responsibility to take action*

Model of Aspiring Social Justice Allies (Edwards, 2006)

Edwards' (2006) Model of Aspiring Social Justice Allies was useful in identifying the development status of allies, including aspiring allies for self-interest and aspiring allies for altruism. This model identifies the motivations and actions of people based on the development status. Although a formal assessment of development status as an ally was not used, these descriptions helped confirm that the participants in this study were allies for social justice and had moved beyond the motivations and actions typically demonstrated by aspiring allies for self-interest or altruism. Bennett's (2006) presentation of the stages of ally development (Edwards, 2006) with intercultural sensitivity stages presented in Table 4 in Chapter 6 also helped confirm that the participants in this study were allies for social justice.

Contributions to the Research Literature

This research project was designed to address gaps in the literature by including the examination of the influence of gender on ally actions and motivations, studying allies with diverse backgrounds working against various forms of oppression, and analyzing the role of student affairs professionals and programs in the development of allies.

Examination of the influence of gender on ally actions and motivations was important because of the differences in the ways males and females are socialized to relate (or not relate) with others and collaborate (or not collaborate) with others. Analysis of the motivations of the allies in this study did not reveal any significant differences in the motivations of female or male allies. However, the types of actions and the way allies discussed their actions were influenced by gender. Female allies more often discussed

the relational and collaborative aspects of their work while male allies were more focused on their personal contributions. The term "we" was often used by females describing their ally work, while males said "I" more often in their descriptions of ally actions. For example, Liz and Thierry both worked with student organizations to take action against oppression. When Thierry described his work he explained how he used his skills and talents to help the organization and cause. In contrast, when Liz discussed the student organization she worked with, she described "our goals" and what "we" are trying to do.

Further, the descriptions of actions from females were more passive and less conclusive of results, as compared to male descriptions. Kiersten described several causes she has taken action against throughout the interview, but when asked directly about her ally actions she said, "I have tried my best to get involved…I am by no means best at it". In contrast, Matthew said, "My whole high school and college career had been based on disability advocacy." He further discussed the results of his work, beginning with, "One thing I am really proud of is…" These examples represent the how the females generally described their actions as compared to the male participants. The female actions were more passive—listening and supporting--while the males described more active responses directed at a particular person, group or cause. The males tended to be more specific and definitive in describing the results of their work, whereas the females described more of what they were trying to accomplish without discussing the actual result.

In addition to examining gender, this research extended the body of work on student social justice allies by including students with diverse backgrounds working against various forms of oppression. As Table 1 in Chapter 4 shows, the allies varied

based on several demographic factors and were working against different forms of oppression. The participant profiles in Chapter 4 also document the diverse backgrounds of the allies in this study. By including a more representative group of participants, aspects of ally development not previously considered were examined. The diversity of the participant group also brought attention to the fact that members of a target group are also likely to be members of an agent group and that they may use the privilege associated with an agent group status to take action against different forms of oppression.

For example, Fernando is a male who identifies as Hispanic or Latino and also identifies as gay. His Latino and gay identities make him a member of targeted groups. However, as a male he is also a member of a dominant group. Fernando uses his male privilege to take action against sexism and domestic violence. Similarly, Vanessa is female and identifies as Mexican or Mexican American, which both make her a member of subordinate groups. However, she is heterosexual and uses her privilege in this capacity to take action against heterosexism. This highlights the intersectionality of identity and different social group members is associate with different levels of privilege.

Inclusion of diverse allies also expands the understanding of who is included in the analysis of student social justice allies. While increased diversity makes the examination of social justice allies more complex, it is important to make sure that allies are not always assumed to be white, heterosexual, Christian, etc.. As this study shows, anyone with an identity or status that is associated with privilege is able to use this privilege to take action against oppression and affect change. This study also demonstrated that students who were raised being exposed to negative views of diversity and/or are not open to difference when they come to college still have the experiences

and developed the knowledge, understanding and skills needed to be a social justice ally. Documenting the family values and backgrounds of the allies in this study demonstrated that the experiences and knowledge gained in college are influential and powerful enough to influence ally development, regardless of the messages received before coming to college.

Another contribution of this research is the presentation of a methodology and analysis that ensures that participants in the study are allies for social justice. Participants in this study were identified as allies by their peers--other students. Relying on peer nomination meant that the participants had taken action that was visible and recognizable to other students. Peers are in the best position to report on the authentic actions of students, as they are more likely to be able to observe the motivations, approach and impact of the actions. Presenting a methodology that allows for peer nomination is a contribution to the research literature on social justice allies, as well as other subjects where there is concern about the authenticity and impact of a person's actions. Using Edwards' (2006) model which presented three developmental statuses of allies or aspiring allies and Bennett's (2006) interpretation of this model along with the corresponding intercultural sensitivity for each stage allowed for further confirmation that the participants in this study were allies for social justice and had moved beyond aspiring ally statuses.

Finally, previous research had discussed the importance of student affairs professionals in the development of allies. However, to date, there was no research examining what role, if any, student affairs professionals have in the ally development process. This research demonstrated that the programs planned and implemented by

student affairs staff are influential in the development of student social justice allies at UT-Austin. The participants in this study all mentioned specific student affairs programs that they identified as important in their development as allies. Many of the allies also talked about how they had developed meaningful and supportive relationships with specific student affairs professionals. They also discussed how these individuals had contributed to them becoming allies and taking action against oppression.

Implications of Policy and Practice

This study identified several student affairs programs that were successful in contributing to the development of the students in this study as allies. Each of these programs identified, with the exception of orientation, has a target audience and students need to self-select and/or be selected in order to benefit from these trainings and/or experiences which limits the number of students potentially influenced by involvement. However, the success and contribution of these programs should be recognized and seen as a model of engagement and influence for these types of initiatives. Perhaps most significant because of the larger audience who could potentially be influenced is the diversity monologues that are a part of orientation for first year students at UT-Austin. Although the majority of the participants in this study were in the second half of their junior or senior year at the time of the interviews, many of them recognized these monologues as influential and an important first step in the pathway towards becoming an ally. Approximately 1,000 first year students participate in each orientation session, with a total of about 6,000 participants over the course of each summer. Therefore, the potential influence of this program should not be underestimated. Even if a very small percentage of participants are affected, given that this is a program targeted at incoming

students, having the diversity monologues be one the first things students experience as they begin college is important. This program should be seriously considered as a best practice to potentially customize and implement at other institutions.

The success of influence of the student affairs programs and professionals highlighted by the participants in this study shows that these offices and staff members are in a position to contribute to the development of student social justice allies. While it is important to consider context, this success supports the need for funding and encouragement of student affairs offices and staff members who are creating and implementing programs to teach students about difference outside of the classroom. Some student affairs offices and professionals are charged with creating more inclusive campus environments as part of their mission or role. The fact that two of the most influential programs were related to offices focused on other purposes-Residence Life and orientation-shows that all areas of student affairs are in a position to contribute to the development of allies.

This study also reinforced the importance and benefits associated with living on-campus. The allies in this study made connections and developed friendships with students different than themselves when they lived on campus. For many of them, this is where they started to develop the diverse friendship groups they had when they were interviewed for this study. Previous research by Antonio (2001) and this study documents the value and positive outcomes associated with diverse friendship groups. These friendships lead to experiences and understanding about difference that may be as, or more, influential as participation in diversity workshops or training. Whether it is through encouraging students to live on-campus for at least one year, or through other programs

or initiatives, the learning and experiences made possible through students having diverse groups of friends should not be underestimated. Therefore, programs that allow students to connect with and develop relationships with students who are different than themselves should be developed and implemented.

One policy that should be seriously considered is to require all students to take at least one course with diversity-related content during their college career. This diversity-related course content could be added to other courses that are already required for graduation to eliminate the need for additional coursework. The participants in this study had all participated in at least one diversity-related course or workshop and all talked about how influential this experience was in their development. The influence the coursework had on these allies is clear from the descriptions provided in Chapter 5. Requiring diversity-related material would increase all students' level of exposure to and knowledge of difference. Ultimately this could increase inclusiveness on campus and would also help allies make change because more students would understand privilege and oppression and would therefore be more likely to listen and possibly take action. A course with diversity-related material would also increase the possibility of students developing a complex understanding of privilege and oppression, which was found to be an important precursor to becoming a social justice ally.

It is important to note that the influence of diversity workshops and initiatives were mixed. Some of the programs discussed above were influential in the development of the allies in this study. However, some of the required diversity workshops the participants had to attend were found to be ineffective. Therefore, required diversity

training should be closely developed and evaluated to insure it is meeting the intended goals.

Conceptual and Theoretical Limitations

A major limitation of this study is that it relied on self-reports of ally actions. Therefore, there was no way to evaluate the effectiveness of their actions. With any self-report it is possible that participants either knowingly or unknowingly represent their experiences and beliefs. Using peer identification of allies helped reduce the effects of this limitation. The focus of this study was ally self-reports, so no follow-up with the student affairs offices or professional identified by the allies was conducted. Future research should examine how programs and staff identified in this study and other successful programs influence and affect ally development.

Research on student social justice allies is still an emerging topic with limited amounts of literature currently available. Finding other relevant literature and identifying additional factors for examination helped, but not having many studies directly related to work from was another limitation. With a limited number of approaches to use as a guide this analysis combined different frameworks, models and theories from various areas. This combined approach provided depth and led to expanded understanding, but was also limited because there was not one previously tested methodology to use as a guide. Having directly relevant research available helps insure that the methodology addresses all possible factors for analysis and leads to useful results. Through this limitation an expanded approach was developed.

Future Research

Although this study included an examination of the influence of gender on ally actions and motivations, future research should include a closer examination of the types

of actions female and male allies engage in, their sources of motivation and how their actions are received and perceived by others. It would also be helpful for future researchers if there was an assessment tool available to help identify the development status of an ally (based on Edwards, 2006 and Bennett, 2006). Further, since all of the research to date has been based on qualitative analysis of student allies in a particular institutional context, there is a need to start to develop ways to examine student allies at multiple institutions. Larger, multi-institution, quantitative studies will allow for the analysis of comparable factors and of findings that can be applied to more settings.

Personal values are shaped in large part by what a person has experienced. As discussed in Chapter 5, all of the participants had experienced oppression or difficulty due to marker of difference before coming to college. When they discussed how they dealt with these challenges, it was clear that even if they talked to a family member, teacher, or friend, that they ultimately found ways to personally deal with it. The participants did not reflect on how these specific experiences related to their motivations or actions as allies. Future research should explore how experience with challenge due to a marker of difference may make students or people more sensitive to recognizing oppression and/or injustice, and therefore, more willing to learn and take action.

In addition to future research on social justice allies, it is important to also research students who are members of target groups who take action against oppression that affects them and/or the social group they are a member of. As Jenkins (2009) points out

> We all agree that allies are important and need to be developed. But what about those of us-students, educators, citizens-who are not only allies but also members of the oppressed groups? Is there a place at the table of social justice for those of us who work to create social change by and for the communities to which we

> belong?...If we do not engage in these critical conversations, the potential problem is that once again the experience of the privileged becomes priority and the oppressed are absent from the discussion. So, not only do the privileged enjoy the spotlight in greater society, but when we discuss issues of working for social justice they also become the focus of the conversation. We need researchers out there discovering critical knowledge on how to effectively develop social justice allies. And we also need more research on those student members of oppressed or under-represented communities that work tirelessly within their own communities-planning campus programs, encouraging intra-cultural education and uplift, protesting inequity, and championing the cause that are important to the communities in which they are a very active member. (n.p.)

This is an important reminder to make sure that research analyzes the motivations and actions of all people or students (target group members *and* allies) that affect change and work against various forms of oppression.

APPENDICES

Appendix A: Biography of Virginia Foster Durr, An Example of a Social Justice Ally

Virginia Foster Durr
(1903-1999)
Civil Rights Activist and Author

Virginia Foster Durr was born near Birmingham in 1903, her long life bridged the post-Civil War era to the American Civil Rights Movement. The granddaughter of a former slave holder, she became an ostracized anti-racist convert. Her amazing life of determined tenacity testifies to the ability of an individual to be transformed by observation, experience, and basic sense of right and wrong from an unquestioning racist to a courageous activist, organizer, and leader for social justice.

Durr grew up in Birmingham early in the 20th century in a closely knit family. Her family attended Ku Klux Klan parades and taught her that the KKK were protectors of Southern womanhood. As a young woman, she attended Wellesley College. In her Sophomore year, she faced the difficult choice of either agreeing to eat at the same table as a Black student or leaving school. She chose to stay at school, which she considered a great intellectual and enriching experience.

Due to a family financial crisis in 1923, she was forced to leave Wellesley and returned to Birmingham, Alabama, where she met her future husband, Alabama attorney and Rhodes Scholar, Clifford Durr. They married and in 1933 moved to DC and both became avid New Dealers. In Washington, her political consciousness grew and she became very active through Mrs Roosevelt and the Democratic Women's groups in organizing to eliminating the poll tax, which prevented poor people, most women and Blacks from voting.

In 1938, Virginia Durr became a founding member of the Southern Conference on Human Welfare (SCHW), which became the main vehicle for her fight against the poll tax. SCHW also worked to bring together disparate liberal groups in the South to end violence against labor organizations and to work toward integration. As a founder of this organization and as a member of a variety of other organization like and the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF), she challenged White privilege. She worked closely with friends like Eleanor Roosevelt, Ella Baker , Mary McCloud Bethune to courageously challenge the racist social, economic, and political attitudes on a community and national level.

Her opposition to all Jim Crow's segregation laws caused her to be castigated, denounced, and shunned by a large segment of the white community in Montgomery Birmingham. Neither she, nor her husband, Clifford, was deterred from their determined work to erode institutionalized racism and civil liberties.

The Durrs supported the Highland Folk School, and got a scholarship for Mrs Parks which provided her with an experience that would lead to the Montgomery bus boycott. Years later in December, 1955, it was the Durrs who bailed their long-time friend, Rosa Parks out of jail after she was arrested for refusing to give up her seat to a white man.

Because of their anti-racist work, the Durrs were hounded by the FBI. Virginia was even accused of being a communist and called before a Congressional committee chaired by Senator Jim Eastland, who believed everyone in the Civil Rights Movement was a communist. As the senator tried to interrogate Virginia, she stood silent and in Southern belle fashion, she defiantly began to powder her nose.

Durr provided White Southern women, as well as all White women, with an important role model and helped imbue them with the courage to step from behind old barriers of ignorance and racial bigotry onto a path illuminated by freedom leading toward democratic justice.

Source: National Women's History Project

Accessed on June 17, 2009 from http://www.nwhp.org/whm/durr_bio.php

Appendix B: Email to Potential Participants

Dear <Student Name>,

My name is Cat Sanders[5] and I am a doctoral student at the University of Texas at Austin College of Education. Another student recommended you as a potential participant in my dissertation study. I am writing to explain my study and to ask if you would be willing to participate.

My project involves learning more about the development and experiences of undergraduate students who are members of one or more dominant groups who have taken action against oppression. Dominant groups include white students, men, heterosexual students, able-bodied students, or other dominant groups within the campus community. Forms of oppression include racism, sexism, classism, heterosexism, and ableism. The term I am using to describe students who are members of dominant groups who have taken action against oppression is "social justice allies".

To learn more about the students selected to participate in this study, I plan to ask each student to complete a brief questionnaire and to participate in two interviews, each lasting about one hour, which will be scheduled at a time/place convenient for the student.

You may not self-identify as a social justice ally, but another student has seen your actions as ally behavior. If you are willing to take time out of your busy schedule to meet with me, I would appreciate learning more about your experiences. I would be happy to provide more information about my study, if you would like this as you consider participating.

If you are willing to participate or would like more information, please respond to this email or call me at [number redacted] and let me know.

Thank you for your attention and consideration.

All the best,

Catherine M. Sanders
Doctoral Student, Educational Administration (Specialization in Higher Education)
University of Texas at Austin College of Education
csanders@austin.utexas.edu

[5] At the time of data collection my last name was Sanders. I got married and changed my last name to Owney in June 2010.

Appendix C: Survey Distributed to Students

Identifying Social Justice Allies at the University of Texas at Austin

Thank you for taking the time to respond to this survey!

To participate in this survey, you must meet the following criteria:

1. Be a current student or recent graduate (Class of '08 or later) of the University of Texas at Austin
2. Self-Identify as a member or one or more targeted groups (this may include students of color, women, members of the GLBTQ community, students with a low socioeconomic status, students who are differently abled, or other groups marginalized within the campus community)

If you do not meet both of these criteria, you cannot participate in this study. Thank you for your interest.

This brief survey will help identify undergraduate students at the University of Texas at Austin who are members of dominant groups (this may include white students, men, heterosexual students, able-bodied students, or other dominant groups within the campus community) who take action as allies to end forms of oppression (including racism, sexism, classism, heterosexism, and ableism). As a member of one or more targeted groups, your responses will assist in the identification of student social justice allies.

Please answer the questions as completely and as honestly as you can. Your responses will assist a doctoral student collecting data for a dissertation project.

1. What is your current classification at the University of Texas?
   - ☐ First year
   - ☐ Sophomore
   - ☐ Junior
   - ☐ Senior
   - ☐ Recent graduate
   - ☐ Unclassified

2. What targeted group or groups are you a member of? Examples of targeted groups include specific groups (such as Black, Latino/a, bisexual, or hearing impaired) or more general groups (such as students of color, women, members of the GLBTQ community, students who are differently abled). Please self-identify the group or groups you belong to in whatever term(s) you prefer.

3. Please list the **first and last name(s)** of undergraduate students who are members of dominant group(s) who you have seen take action against oppression. Dominant groups include groups such as white students, men,

heterosexual students, able-bodied students, or other dominant groups. Forms of oppression include racism, sexism, classism, heterosexism, and ableism.

4. For each person you named above, please briefly explain the actions s/he has taken against oppression.

5. For each person you named above, please describe which dominant group(s) that s/he is a part of. Dominant groups include white students, men, heterosexual students, able-bodied students, or other dominant groups within the campus community. Since some dominant group membership may be unknown to you, please only list the dominant group(s) you know the person is a part of.

Please note, I will be contacting some, if not all, of the students identified as allies on this survey. Although it is not required, I am requesting that you let the person or people that you have identified know that you have provided me with their name and that I may be contacting her/him to request that s/he participate in my dissertation research. I will be using the UT Directory to find the contact information of the students identified.

Thank you for your time and assistance!

If you have any questions or concerns, or would like further information about my study, feel free to contact me at csanders@austin.utexas.edu

Appendix D: Informed Consent Forms

Consent Form for Participants in Study

Title: Social Justice Allies: Experiences and Development Before and During College

IRB PROTOCOL # 2009-10-0050

Conducted By: Catherine Sanders
Cell [number redacted], Office 512-232-5590
Email csanders@austin.utexas.edu

Faculty Sponsor: Dr. Richard J. Reddick,
Richard.reddick@austin.utexas.edu
512-475-8587
Of The University of Texas at Austin: Educational Administration Department

Telephone: 512-471-7551

You are being asked to participate in a research study. This form provides you with information about the study. The person in charge of this research will also describe this study to you and answer all of your questions. Please read the information below and ask any questions you might have before deciding whether or not to take part. Your participation is entirely voluntary. You can refuse to participate without penalty or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled. You can stop your participation at any time and your refusal will not impact current or future relationships with UT Austin or participating sites. To do so simply tell the researcher you wish to stop participation. The researcher will provide you with a copy of this consent for your records.

The purpose of this study is to gain a better understanding of the formative and college experiences of students identified as social justice allies by their peers.

If you agree to be in this study, we will ask you to do the following things:

- Complete a pre-interview questionnaire
- Participate in two audio recorded interviews, each lasting about one hour

Total estimated time to participate in study is 2.5 hours.

Risks of being in the study

- The risk associated with this study is no greater than everyday life
- Participation in these interviews may involve risks that are currently unforeseeable. If you wish to discuss the information above or any other risks you may experience, you may ask questions now or call the Principal Investigator listed on the front page of this form.

Benefits of being in the study

- Reflection on past and current experiences may lead to increased self-understanding

- Participation may lead to an increased understanding of the research process which may help coursework and/or course discussion

Compensation:

- No compensation for participation in this study is available

Confidentiality and Privacy Protections:

- In papers or articles based on interviews conducted for this study, a pseudonym will be used in place of your name to protect your confidentiality.
- The data resulting from your participation may be made available to other researchers in the future for research purposes not detailed within this consent form. In these cases, the data will contain no identifying information that could associate you with it, or with your participation in any study.

Audio Recording

- interviews will be audio recorded
- Recordings will be coded so that no personally identifying information is visible on them;
- Recordings will be kept in a secure place (e.g., a locked file cabinet in the investigator's office);
- Recordings will be heard or viewed only for research purposes by the investigator and his or her associates;
- Recordings will be erased after they are transcribed and coded.

The records of this study will be stored securely and kept confidential. Authorized persons from The University of Texas at Austin and members of the Institutional Review Board have the legal right to review your research records and will protect the confidentiality of those records to the extent permitted by law. All publications will exclude any information that will make it possible to identify you as a subject. Throughout the study, the researchers will notify you of new information that may become available and that might affect your decision to remain in the study.

Contacts and Questions:

If you have any questions about the study please ask now. If you have questions later, want additional information, or wish to withdraw your participation call the researchers conducting the study. Their names, phone numbers, and e-mail addresses are at the top of this page.

If you would like to obtain information about the research study, have questions, concerns, complaints or wish to discuss problems about a research study with someone unaffiliated with the study, please contact the IRB Office at (512) 471-8871 or Jody Jensen, Ph.D., Chair, The University of Texas at Austin Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects at (512) 232-2685. Anonymity, if desired, will be protected to the extent possible. As an alternative method of contact, an email may be

sent to orsc@uts.cc.utexas.edu or a letter sent to IRB Administrator, P.O. Box 7426, Mail Code A 3200, Austin, TX 78713.

You will be given a copy of this information to keep for your records.

Statement of Consent:

I have read the above information and have sufficient information to make a decision about participating in this study. I consent to participate in the study.

Signature:_____ Date: _____

_____ Date: _____
Signature of Person Obtaining Consent

Signature of Investigator:_____ Date: _____

Consent form for Survey Respondents

You are invited to participate in a survey, entitled "SOCIAL JUSTICE ALLIES: EXPERIENCES AND DEVELOPMENT BEFORE AND DURING COLLEGE." The study is being conducted by Catherine Sanders, PhD Student, Educational Administration of The University of Texas at Austin, 201 W. Dean Keeton, Austin, TX 78705, 512-232-5590 or [number redacted], csanders@austin.utexas.edu.

The purpose of this study is to examine the formative and college experiences of students identified as social justice allies by their peers. Your participation in the survey will contribute to a better understanding of the ally development process. We estimate that it will take about 10 minutes of your time to complete the questionnaire. You are free to contact the investigator at the above address and phone number to discuss the survey.

Risks to participants are considered minimal. There will be no costs for participating, nor will you benefit from participating. Identification numbers associated with email addresses will be kept during the data collection phase for tracking purposes only. A limited number of research team members will have access to the data during data collection. This information will be stripped from the final dataset.

Your participation in this survey is voluntary. You may decline to answer any question and you have the right to withdraw from participation at any time without penalty. If you wish to withdraw from the study or have any questions, contact the investigator listed above.

If you have any questions or would like us to email another person or update your email address, please call Catherine Sanders at 512-232-5590 or send an email to csanders@austin.utexas.edu. You may also request a hard copy of the survey from the contact information above.

To complete the survey, click on the link below:
[HTTP://LINK TO SURVEY URL]
The password for the survey is your UT EID and password.

If you do not want to receive any more reminders, you may email us at csanders@austin.utexas.edu.

This study has been reviewed and approved by The University of Texas at Austin Institutional Review Board. If you have questions about your rights as a study participant, or are dissatisfied at any time with any aspect of this study, you may contact - anonymously, if you wish - the Institutional Review Board by phone at (512) 471-8871 or email at orsc@uts.cc.utexas.edu.

IRB Approval Number: 2009-10-0050

If you agree to participate please press click on the link [**HTTP://LINK TO SURVEY URL]** otherwise use the X at the upper right corner to close this window and disconnect.

Thank you.

Appendix E: Pre-Interview Questionnaire

Thank you for agreeing to participate in this study. Please take about 10 minutes to complete this brief questionnaire. As explained in the informed consent form provided to you, all information provided will remain confidential. The pseudonym listed in #1 below will be used in place of your name in my dissertation.

1. Ally Pseudonym_____
2. In your experience at the University of Texas at Austin during the current school year, about how often have you done each of the following

	Never	Some-times	Often	Very Often
Included diverse perspectives (different races, religions, genders, political beliefs, etc.) in class discussions or writing assignments				
Had serious conversations with students of a different race or ethnicity than your own				
Had serious conversations with students who are very different from you in terms of their religious beliefs, political opinions, or personal values				
Tried to better understand someone else's views by imagining how an issue looks from his or her perspective				
Learning something that changed the way you understand an issue or concept				

3. To what extent has your experiences at the University of Texas at Austin contributed to your knowledge, skills, and personal development in the following areas

	Very Little	Some	Quite a bit	Very much
Thinking critically and analytically				
Working effectively with others				
Understanding yourself				
Understanding people of other racial and ethnic backgrounds				
Developing a personal code of values and ethics				
Contributing to the welfare of your community				
Developing a deepened sense of spirituality				

4. What year were you born?_____

5. Your gender:
   - ☐ Female
   - ☐ Male
   - ☐ Transgender
   - ☐ Intersexual

6. Are you an international student?
   - ☐ Yes
   - ☐ No

7. What is your racial or ethnic identification? (please mark only one)
   - ☐ American Indian or other Native American
   - ☐ Asian, Asian American, or Pacific Islander
   - ☐ Black or African America
   - ☐ White (non-Hispanic)
   - ☐ Mexican or Mexican American
   - ☐ Puerto Rican
   - ☐ Other Hispanic or Latino
   - ☐ Multiracial or Biracial
   - ☐ Other
   - ☐ I prefer not to respond

8. What is your major?_____

9. When do you plan to graduate?_____

10. What is your current classification?
    - ☐ First year
    - ☐ Sophomore
    - ☐ Junior
    - ☐ Senior
    - ☐ Unclassified

11. Did you begin college at the University of Texas at Austin or elsewhere?
    - ☐ At the University of Texas at Austin
    - ☐ Elsewhere

12. Thinking about this current academic term, how would you characterize your enrollment?
    - ☐ Full-time
    - ☐ Less than full-time

13. Are you a member of any student organizations?
    - ☐ Yes
    - ☐ No

If so, please list which ones_____

_____

_____

14. Are you a student-athlete on a team sponsored by the University of Texas?
    - ☐ Yes
    - ☐ No

15. Do you have any of the following impairments or disabilities? (Mark all that apply.)
    - ☐ No, I do not have any impairments or disabilities
    - ☐ Yes, I have a sensory impairment (e.g., visual, hearing)
    - ☐ Yes, I have a mobility impairment
    - ☐ Yes, I have a learning impairment
    - ☐ Yes, I have a mental health disorder
    - ☐ Yes, I have another disability or impairment

16. Which of the following best describes where you are living now while attending college?
    - ☐ Residence hall or other on-campus housing
    - ☐ Residence (house, apartment, etc.) within walking distance
    - ☐ Residence (house, apartment, etc.) within driving distance
    - ☐ Fraternity or sorority house
    - ☐ None of the above

17. What is the highest level of education that your parent(s) completed? (mark one box for each parent)

Mother

- ☐ Did not finish high school
- ☐ Graduated from high school
- ☐ Attended college but did not complete degree
- ☐ Completed an associate's degree
- ☐ Completed a bachelor's degree
- ☐ Completed a master's degree
- ☐ Completed a doctoral degree
- ☐ Unknown

Father

- ☐ Did not finish high school
- ☐ Graduated from high school
- ☐ Attended college but did not complete degree
- ☐ Completed an associate's degree
- ☐ Completed a bachelor's degree
- ☐ Completed a master's degree
- ☐ Completed a doctoral degree
- ☐ Unknown

Thank you for completing this questionnaire! I look forward to meeting you for our interview.

Appendix F: First Interview Protocol

Ally's Pseudonym:
Date:

Begin tape recorder

Thank you for participating in this study. As I explained in my email, I am interested in learning more about students who are members or one or more dominant groups who take action against oppression which affects a target group that they are not a member of. I call these students, including you, social justice allies. Before we begin, do you have any questions about the purpose or scope of my study?

When we completed the pre-interview questionnaire, we also reviewed the informed consent form, which you signed. Here is another copy of this form. I want to assure you that your confidentially with be protected. I will use a pseudonym when I refer to you in my data analysis and report. Do you have any questions about this before we begin?

Before we talk about your actions against oppression, I would like to learn more about your background and experience before coming to college.

1. Tell me about where you grew up. What is your family like? Tell me about your neighborhood and the schools you attended.
2. What types of activities were you involved in at school and outside of school (other than classes)?
3. Did your parents or family have discussions about diversity or difference that you remember? If so, tell me about these
4. Were topics or diversity or difference discussed or dealt with at the schools you attended? If so, tell me about some of these experiences you remember the most
5. Did you have any challenges while growing up before coming to college due to a marker of difference? A marker of difference might be race, ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, social class or ability level.
6. If so, how did you respond to this challenge? Did people (a teacher, friend, family member) help you? How did they help you?
7. What is your understanding of privilege? How did you formulate your definition? Do you see yourself as privileged?
8. What is your understanding of oppression? How did you formulate your definition? Do you see yourself as oppressed?
9. Another student or students identified you as someone who has taken action against a form of oppression that affects him/her/them. What actions have you taken against oppression?

10. How did you get interested and involved in acting against oppression?

That is all the questions I have for today. Would you like to schedule your second interview now, or would you like me to contact you to schedule it? (the 2nd interview will ideally be scheduled 1-2 weeks after the 1st interview)

Appendix G: Second Interview Protocol

Ally's Pseudonym:
Date:

Begin tape recorder

Our last interview focused on your background and experiences before coming to college and your understanding of social justice, privilege and oppression. This interview will focus more on your college experiences and what has contributed to your understanding of oppression.

First, I would like to follow-up on a few questions from our last interview (at this point I would clarify any items that were unclear from the first interview). Thank you for revisiting those topics with me. The clarity you provided will help in my analysis. Now, let's move onto this interview

1. When you think about yourself when you started college, how open to people who are different than yourself were you? Has your level or openness changed since then?
2. If so, what experiences influenced you to become more or less open to others since starting college?
3. Have you participated in any workshops or courses that covered topics related to diversity? If so, tell me about these
4. When you think about your friends that you interact with most often, how diverse are they as a group? What factors determine how diverse they are?
5. Have you participated in any service-learning activities since you started college. Service-learning is typically when community service activities are combined with coursework.
6. Are there any Student Affairs activities or staff members that have influenced you while in college? This could include Orientation activities, trainings provided by staff from the MIC, CMHC, GSC or other office, or staff from offices such as the Division of Housing and Food Service, Student Activities, Dean of Students, Student Judicial Services, Services for Students with Disabilities or others.
7. When you started to become interested in fighting oppression, was this influenced by any particular person or story?
8. What are your motivations for taking action against oppression?
9. The definition of a social justice ally I am using in my research is "social justice allies are members of dominant groups (e.g., men, Whites, heterosexuals) who are working to end the system of oppression that gives them greater privilege and power based on their social group membership" (Broido, 2000, p. 3). Using this definition and what we have discussed, do you see yourself as an ally? Why or why not?
10. How can university staff members encourage the development of allies?

Appendix H: Student Demographics Since Implementation of top 10%

THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT AUSTIN
TOP 10% REPORT 11
October 28, 2008

Table 1
Applicants/Admits/First-Time Enrolled Freshmen
Summers and Falls Combined
1998-2008

All Freshman Applications																
	White		Native American		African American		Asian American		Hispanic		International		Unknown		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1998	10138	**60%**	94	**1%**	660	**4%**	2491	**15%**	2338	**14%**	958	**6%**	118	**1%**	**16797**	**100%**
1999	11051	**58%**	87	**0%**	1030	**5%**	2668	**14%**	2831	**15%**	1199	**6%**	64	**0%**	**18930**	**100%**
2000	12737	**59%**	107	**0%**	1186	**6%**	2939	**14%**	3087	**14%**	1404	**7%**	79	**0%**	**21539**	**100%**
2001	11723	**56%**	127	**1%**	1053	**5%**	3123	**15%**	3164	**15%**	1673	**8%**	123	**1%**	**20986**	**100%**
2002	12603	**57%**	110	**0%**	1159	**5%**	3259	**15%**	3487	**16%**	1447	**7%**	114	**1%**	**22179**	**100%**
2003	13944	**57%**	111	**0%**	1351	**6%**	3439	**14%**	4101	**17%**	1477	**6%**	96	**0%**	**24519**	**100%**
2004	12417	**54%**	127	**1%**	1456	**6%**	3262	**14%**	4035	**18%**	1571	**7%**	140	**1%**	**23008**	**100%**
2005	12552	**52%**	124	**1%**	1552	**6%**	3483	**15%**	4457	**19%**	1700	**7%**	57	**0%**	**23925**	**100%**
2006	14301	**52%**	178	**1%**	1915	**7%**	4005	**15%**	5148	**19%**	1741	**6%**	27	**0%**	**27315**	**100%**
2007	13659	**50%**	126	**0%**	1952	**7%**	4159	**15%**	5335	**20%**	1969	**7%**	37	**0%**	**27237**	**100%**
2008	14038	**48%**	140	**0%**	2234	**8%**	4344	**15%**	6081	**21%**	2620	**9%**	44	**0%**	**29501**	**100%**

All Freshman Admits																
	White		Native American		African American		Asian American		Hispanic		International		Unknown		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1998	7659	**64%**	59	**0%**	401	**3%**	1942	**16%**	1620	**14%**	252	**2%**	42	**0%**	**11975**	**100%**
1999	7421	**62%**	47	**0%**	517	**4%**	1970	**16%**	1705	**14%**	248	**2%**	41	**0%**	**11949**	**100%**
2000	8162	**62%**	59	**0%**	562	**4%**	2151	**16%**	1823	**14%**	471	**4%**	28	**0%**	**13256**	**100%**
2001	7787	**61%**	68	**1%**	445	**3%**	2198	**17%**	1815	**14%**	355	**3%**	65	**1%**	**12733**	**100%**
2002	8258	**61%**	61	**0%**	494	**4%**	2298	**17%**	1945	**14%**	379	**3%**	41	**0%**	**13476**	**100%**
2003	6852	**60%**	37	**0%**	448	**4%**	1991	**17%**	1795	**16%**	348	**3%**	33	**0%**	**11504**	**100%**
2004	6814	**58%**	53	**0%**	569	**5%**	2013	**17%**	1911	**16%**	390	**3%**	38	**0%**	**11788**	**100%**
2005	6745	**55%**	59	**0%**	617	**5%**	2076	**17%**	2183	**18%**	498	**4%**	29	**0%**	**12207**	**100%**
2006	7280	**55%**	68	**1%**	683	**5%**	2315	**17%**	2406	**18%**	547	**4%**	8	**0%**	**13307**	**100%**
2007	7310	**53%**	52	**0%**	747	**5%**	2498	**18%**	2632	**19%**	549	**4%**	12	**0%**	**13800**	**100%**
2008	6582	**51%**	50	**0%**	728	**6%**	2309	**18%**	2621	**20%**	536	**4%**	17	**0%**	**12843**	**100%**

All Enrolled First Time Freshmen																
	White		Native American		African American		Asian American		Hispanic		International		Unknown		Total	
%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1998	4399	**65%**	37	**1%**	199	**3%**	1133	**17%**	891	**13%**	83	**1%**	2	**0%**	**6744**	**100%**
1999	4447	**63%**	28	**0%**	286	**4%**	1221	**17%**	976	**14%**	82	**1%**			**7040**	**100%**
2000	4801	**62%**	32	**0%**	296	**4%**	1325	**17%**	1011	**13%**	217	**3%**	4	**0%**	**7686**	**100%**
2001	4447	**61%**	34	**0%**	242	**3%**	1413	**19%**	1024	**14%**	139	**2%**	38	**1%**	**7337**	**100%**
2002	4882	**62%**	35	**0%**	272	**3%**	1452	**18%**	1137	**14%**	157	**2%**			**7935**	**100%**
2003	3866	**59%**	19	**0%**	267	**4%**	1153	**18%**	1068	**16%**	156	**2%**	15	**0%**	**6544**	**100%**
2004	3901	**57%**	28	**0%**	309	**5%**	1218	**18%**	1149	**17%**	173	**3%**	18	**0%**	**6796**	**100%**
2005	3838	**56%**	33	**0%**	351	**5%**	1192	**17%**	1244	**18%**	236	**3%**	18	**0%**	**6912**	**100%**
2006	4028	**54%**	38	**1%**	387	**5%**	1326	**18%**	1386	**19%**	250	**3%**	2	**0%**	**7417**	**100%**
2007	3839	**51%**	27	**0%**	431	**6%**	1474	**20%**	1470	**20%**	236	**3%**	2	**0%**	**7479**	**100%**

Source:
The University of Texas at Austin, Office of Admissions. (2008, October). *Implementation and results of the Texas automatic admission law (HB 588) at The University of Texas at Austin: Demographic analysis of entering freshmen*. Accessed on August 31, 2009 from http://www.utexas.edu/student/admissions/research/HB588-Report11.pdf

Appendix I: Student Demographics to Support Site Context Description

The Entering Freshman Class of 2008 is defined as first-time enrolled freshman students of the fall
semester of 2008 and first-time enrolled freshman students of the 2008 summer semester who continued
into the fall.

This report is posted to comply with requirements outlined in Sec. 51.4032 of the Texas Education Code.
HB 588 "Automatic-Admits" are students automatically-admitted under the provisions of Sec. 51.803
(Texas Top 10% Law). Those students:

1. Were determined to be in the top 10% of their high school graduation class as a result of an explicit rank and class size provided by the student's high school; and
2. Graduated from a Texas high school or eligible Department of Defense school; and
3. Submitted a complete application on or before published deadlines.

"Other Admits" are students admitted under provisions outlined in Section 51.805 of the Texas Education Code.
Source: The University of Texas at Austin (2008, December)

Table 1
Racial/Ethnic Breakdown of Automatic Admits and other Enrolled Freshmen Summer/Fall 2008

	Automatic-Admits		Other		Admits Total	
Race	N	%	N	%	N	%
AMERICAN INDIAN	14	<1%	9	1%	23	<1%
ASIAN AMERICAN	1025	20%	224	14%	1249	19%
AFRICAN AMERICAN	305	6%	70	4%	375	6%
INTERNATIONAL	122	2%	86	5%	208	3%
HISPANIC	1164	23%	174	11%	1338	20%
WHITE	2480	48%	1033	65%	3513	52%
NOT REPORTED	4	<1%	5	<1%	9	<1%
TOTAL	5114	100%	1601	100%	6715	100%

Source: The University of Texas at Austin (2008, December)

Table 2
Residency Breakdown of Automatic Admits and other Enrolled Freshmen
Summer/Fall 2008

	Automatic-Admits		Other		Admits Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
INTERNATIONAL	122	2%	86	5%	208	3%
NON-RESIDENT OF TEXAS	4	<1%	291	18%	295	4%
TEXAS RESIDENT	4988	98%	1224	76%	6212	93%
TOTAL	5114	100%	1601	100%	6715	100%

Source: The University of Texas at Austin (2008, December)

Table 3
Breakdown of Automatic Admits and other Enrolled Freshmen by SAT score intervals1
Summer/Fall 2008

	Automatic-Admits		Other		Admits Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
0400-0890	139	3%	22	1%	161	2%
0900-0990	336	7%	42	3%	378	6%
1000-1090	720	14%	93	6%	813	12%
1100-1190	952	19%	190	12%	1142	17%
1200-1290	1242	24%	382	24%	1624	24%
1300-1390	988	19%	509	32%	1497	22%
1400-1490	542	11%	266	17%	808	12%
1500-1600	195	4%	97	6%	292	4%
TOTAL	5114	100%	1601	100%	6715	100%

Source: The University of Texas at Austin (2008, December)

Table 4
Economic Status Breakdown of Automatic Admits and other Enrolled Freshmen
Self-Reported Parental Income Intervals
Summer/Fall 2008

	Automatic-Admits		Other		Admits Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
LESS THAN $20,000 PER YEAR	399	8%	45	3%	444	7%
$20,000-$40,000 PER YEAR	731	14%	98	6%	829	12%
$40,001-$60,000 PER YEAR	655	13%	124	8%	779	12%
$60,001-$80,000 PER YEAR	552	11%	126	8%	678	10%
MORE THAN $80,00 PER YEAR	2486	49%	1017	64%	3503	52%
NOT REPORTED	291	6%	191	12%	482	7%
TOTAL	5114	100 %	1601	100 %	6715	100 %

Source: The University of Texas at Austin (2008, December)

Table 5
High School Standing Breakdown of Automatic Admits and other Enrolled Freshmen
High School Percentile Ranking
Summer/Fall 2008

	Automatic-Admits		Other		Admits Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
99-95th	2785	54%	111	7%	2896	43%
94-90th	2329	46%	94	6%	2423	36%
89-85th			517	32%	517	8%
84-80th			313	20%	313	5%
79-75th			169	11%	169	3%
74-70th			108	7%	108	2%
69-65th			57	4%	57	1%
64-60th			73	5%	73	1%
59-55th			17	1%	17	<1%
54-50th			9	1%	9	<1%
49-45th			16	1%	16	<1%
44-40th			10	1%	10	<1%
39-35th			7	<1%	7	<1%
34-30th			6	<1%	6	<1%
29-25th			4	<1%	4	<1%
19-15th			1	<1%	1	<1%
14-10th			1	<1%	1	<1%
No Ranking			88	5%	88	1%
Total	5114	100%	1601	100%	6715	100%

Source: The University of Texas at Austin (2008, December)

Appendix J: Preliminary Coding Scheme

- Experienced oppression in the past
- Witnessed oppression in the past
- Exposed to diversity while growing up
- Open to diversity while in college
- Diversity of friendship group
- Contact with student affairs professional
- participated in education events organized by student affairs
- exposure to role model for action against oppression
- Understanding of privilege (complex v. simple)
- Understanding of oppression (complex v. simple)
- Experiences in on/off campus housing
- participation in diversity course/workshop
- participation in service-learning.

References

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